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Anarchy

A journal of Desire Armed

Simons on play
Bookchin on population
Chomsky on propaganda
Morley on cocaine
and letters galore!



Disarm Authority! Arm Your Desires!

Collage by Freddie Baer

Discontents

2-3 Openers

4-5 Radical news in review

For a society without power; An interview with a West Berlin autonomist p.4
Malthusian mystification; More reactionary environmentalism, by Lev Chernyi. p.5

6-8 Alternative media review

Alternative press review, compiled by Lev Chernyi. p.6
Anarchist press review, compiled by Lev Chernyi. p.7
Small Press Yearbook 1990, reviewed by Lev Chernyi. p.8
The anarchist scene. p.8

9-10 International anarchist news

The movement in Yugoslavia--A weak link in the anarchist chain, by Will Firth. p.9
Youth Caucus Statement; Green Committees of Correspondence. p.9
Another report from the S.F. Day of Action. p.10

11-20 Features

Seven theses on play, by Paul Z. Simons. p.11
The population myth, by Murray Bookchin. p.12
Propaganda American-style, from an interview with Noam Chomsky. p.14
The great American high; Contradictions of cocaine capitalism, by Jefferson Morley. p.16
The Revolution of Everyday Life, by Raoul Vaneigem (second chapter): "Humiliation" p.18

21-23 Columns

A's for Attitude: Barbie & Ken seek counseling. p.21
Man wearing skirt. p.21
Interrogations for the Human Community: On crisis ideology. p.22
The Nihilist's Dictionary: Division of labor, by John Zerzan. p.22
Breaking New Ground: Morality or critique? by Mikal Jakubal. p.23
An Imaginary Passion: Wasteland/wonderland, by Noa. p.23

24-36 Letters

More letters on anarchy & religion. p.25
Letters on the children's sexuality issue. p.26
Letters on the continental newspaper project. p.29

Openers

Anarchy notes

Why the new price?

The first thing some people will undoubtedly note about this issue is our new cover price of \$2.00. This has been partly necessitated by our increased size (to 36-pages, in order to economically include the heavier cover stock we now use) which means increased postage as well as printing costs. Partly it is in anticipation of rumored increases in the postal rates we've already been paying --increases which, whatever else their function, will always make alternative publishing financially more tenuous. And partly it is due to the current slowdown of the increase in our number of subscriptions, and thus the dimming of possibilities that *Anarchy* would otherwise soon begin paying for itself. Of course, the optimum situation would be for us to publish a totally free paper. However, I'm afraid the kind of voluntary support it would take to achieve this situation is unlikely given the current size and relative poverty of the North American movement. Still, we think our single issue and subscription prices remain very reasonable, considering the size and quality of this journal, as well as the prices of similar alternative publications within and without the anarchist movement. We hope you agree.

In this issue

This is another fairly eclectic issue, featuring strong essays by Murray Bookchin, Noam Chomsky, and Jefferson Morley. Bookchin takes on the reappearance of neo-Malthusianism in the environmental movement in an essay on "The population myth." Noam Chomsky reiterates his critique of the highly effective system of propaganda utilized in the U.S. to maintain popular docility and ideological manipulation in an excellent essay on "Propaganda American-style." And Morley points out the bizarre contradictions that have been involved both in the rise of the cocaine business to its current peak and

in the strategies used in attempts at its suppression in an essay on "The great American high; Contradictions of cocaine capitalism."

Besides these pieces, we also continue our reprinting of Raoul Vaneigem's important book, *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, with the second chapter on "Humiliation." And for those who enjoy reading our letters, we've gotten so much correspondence of late that this issue includes over 12 pages of them! Even so, we still have so many letters left over that you can probably be assured that our next issue will have just as much space devoted to its letters section.

Sustaining contributors

Once again we want to thank all our current sustaining contributors (as well as those who have sent us other contributions over our subscription rates) for their special contributions! It is contributions like these which make it possible for us to continue publishing by considerably lessening our financial stresses. Our current sustainers include: S.H. of Spencerport, NY.; D.A. of Carbondale, IL.; L.C., T.O., A.H. & S.H. of Columbia, MO.; K.M. of Scarborough, Ontario; A.M. of Farmingdale, N.J.; C.Q. of Pawtucket, R.I.; A.H. of New Braunfels, TX.; D.S. in Ohio; A.G. of Paris, France; P.K. of Flagstaff, AZ.; D.D. of Orange City, FL.; E.H. of Providence, R.I.; L.P. of Detroit, MI. and P.B. of Alexandria, VA. Thank you all for your special support! Sustaining contributors to *Anarchy* donate \$50 to \$100 per year--which includes a First Class subscription.

Errata

The review of Alfredo Bonnano's *From Riot to Insurrection* by Larry Gambone that appeared in the *North American Anarchist Review* supplement to our last issue was unfortunately and unintentionally cut short, omitting a fair amount of the original review. We are sorry for this layout mistake and apologize to the author, who informs us, anyway, that he had recently sent us a letter (that for some reason we have ap-

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parently never received) requesting that the review be withdrawn from consideration for publication.

--Lev Chernyi

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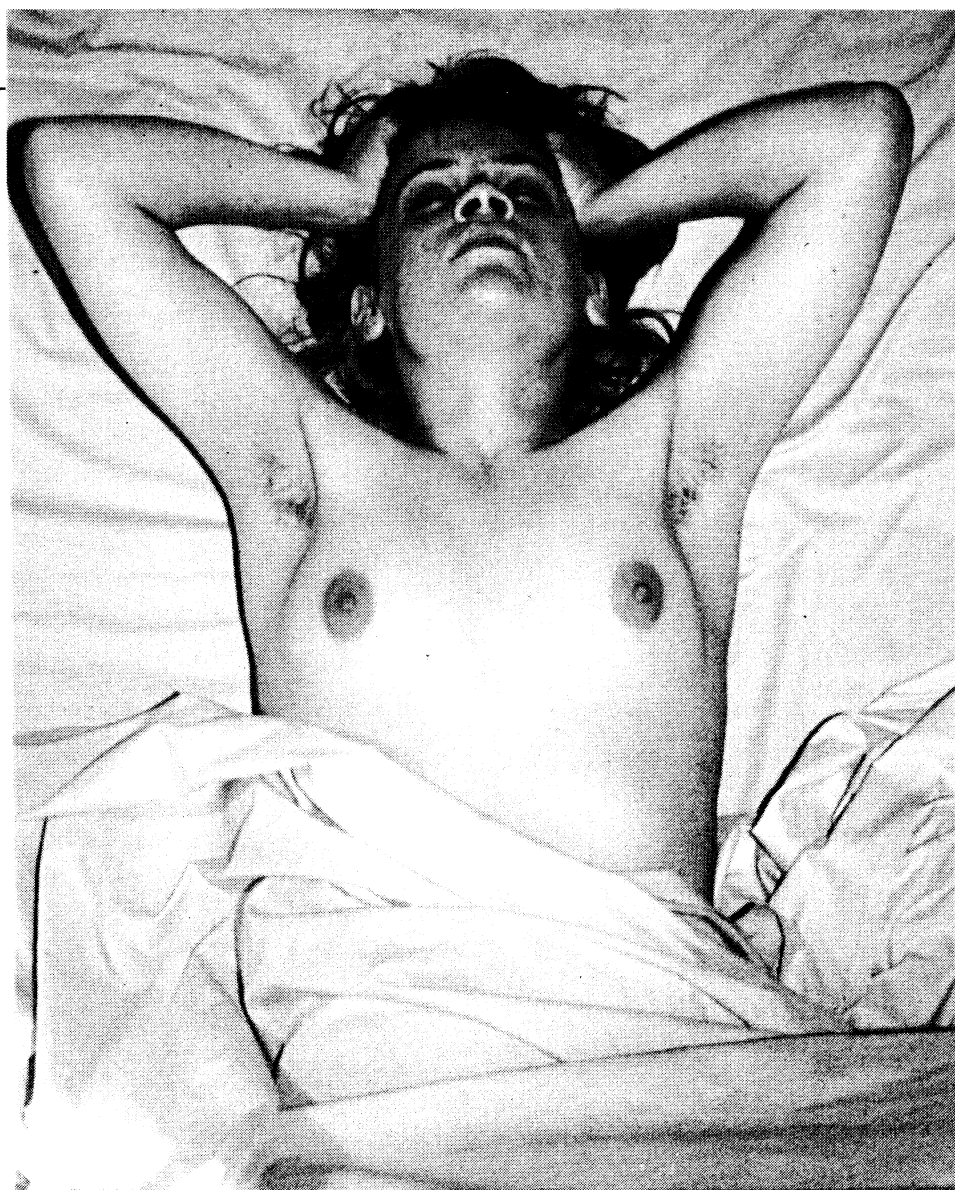


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We are beginning a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of a post-situationist, anti-ideological revolutionary tendency. The list will help enable those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links. If you'd like to see your address added to this listing please write:

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(We are only compiling this list, we are not endorsing the positions of those who have asked to be listed.)

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For submissions, please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, stories, photos, and graphic art if you wish to have them returned. Short news and comment articles which are used in the "The sad truth," "Radical news in review," and "International anarchist news" will be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features) will be edited only with the author's permission. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free issues or subscriptions, or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation. The deadline for submissions is the first day of the month previous to each issue's cover date. (E.g. deadline for the next issue will be February 1st.)

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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."

--B.A.G. Fuller

Soviets admit '68 Czech invasion was a mistake

For the last 21 years the Soviet Union has defended its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as a necessary defense of the Warsaw Pact. The "threat" to the pact which required the invasion was the reform-minded Czech government under Dubcek, which had ushered in what became known as the "Prague Spring." To end the Spring with a long Winter of renewed repression, troops and tanks from the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria were brought in to overwhelm the widespread, but largely nonviolent resistance. At last, the Soviet Union, along with the other Warsaw Pact nations which participated in the invasion, has admitted that it was "illegal" and "must be condemned."

Of course, this admission can't change the last twenty-one years of repression and military occupation of the country. The damage has already been done. Yet, the current admission that the invasion was a mistake does show that the current East European and Soviet regimes, albeit under the force of popu-

lar pressures, are far more ready to acknowledge their own repressed truths than is the superpower empire occupying North America.

The Warsaw Pact countries under the domination of their respective Communist Parties have a well-earned reputation for falsifying history. Yet in the eyes of most commentators, the United States has been immune to this kind of criticism. What will it take to get the U.S. government to finally admit to some of its colossal mistakes (i.e. atrocious acts of invasion, repression and destruction)? When are we likely to see, for example, a U.S. president forced to admit that the U.S. actually "invaded" Vietnam, much less that it "illegally" engaged in mass-murder, mass-torture and ecocidal destruction? When will we see angry mass demonstrations and general strikes which force the U.S. government to admit that it was largely responsible behind the scenes for the murderous coups in Greece, Chile or South Korea in the last few decades? Or that Reagan's pathetic invasion of the island-nation

Continued on page 8

Radical news in review

For a society without power

An interview with a West Berlin autonomist



MayDay 1989 in W. Berlin's Kreuzberg district. Rioting broke out and many stores were looted, with autonomists, turkish kids & many other people participating. Food was distributed throughout the community, & over 200 cops injured in street-fighting.

Photo from *Endless Struggle* #11/Winter '89 (POB 69601 Stn.K, Vancouver, B.C., V5K 4W7 Canada).

So maybe you could begin by telling us how it is living in West Berlin and how it differs from other West German cities?

It's not that different than living in big cities like Hamburg, Frankfurt.... There might be some differences, for instance West Berlin is like an island, surrounded by a wall, and so people live really crowded in a city of 2 million. And especially in the wintertime it's getting really depressive. I'm living in Kreuzberg, and it's one of the poorest neighborhoods, and you could compare this area with say the Lower East Side of New York, with large apartment buildings, many people living crowded together, not much green, and many people are greatly frustrated. Another thing about West Berlin, located in East Germany, is you must drive three or four hours to West Germany and may stay in West Berlin because maybe they don't have the money to drive out, so especially many poor people have no choice and must stay in West Berlin. And I have stayed two to three years in West Berlin without leaving for a week, etc., so it's a kind of prison in a way. You're surrounded by a wall and to leave the city the atmosphere is different than say Vancouver because you have to cross a border, to show your I.D., have money, etc. Also, West Berlin isn't really apart of West Germany: West Germany has 11 federal states including W. Berlin, but W. Berlin doesn't have the right to send politicians to the federal government to make decisions. It's a similar system to the U.S.: from each state they send a senator to the congress. West Berlin doesn't have this right. And it's also a military zone. We have 30,000 soldiers, Americans, British, French, all divided into their respective sectors. And sometimes it's really fucked up. In your neighborhood, you see them driving down the street standing in their jeep with a machine gun and pointing at you. They

don't shoot, but they play all kinds of head games.

It's like an occupied city then?

Yeah, you don't feel like it's your city or anything. It's a result of the second world war. The Americans have total power, they can overturn the West Berlin government and the police. When Ron Reagan came to West Berlin in 1982 and around 10,000 people were fighting back the cops in the street, the U.S. administration was considering sending the military into the streets, and America has a "right" to do it, it's a constitutional right.

What are the origins of the autonomous movement? What are the struggles you're fighting for?

Uh, the origins of the autonomous movement are found in the beginning of the '80s, they have their background in all sorts of social movements, like squatting, struggles against the N.A.T.O. runway in Frankfurt, against nuclear power, environmental destruction. The major goals of the movement, I would say, are struggling for self-determination, for a society without power, against capitalism, against imperialism, fighting against states, and a really important part of the movement is fighting against the patriarchy and sexist society. The autonomous movement isn't like an organization. It's many independent groups joining in, and of course they all have different experiences, they work on different projects, but the major things that unite autonomous groups together are the points of anti-statist, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-patriarchy, and fighting for a totally self-determined society. It is also very international, supporting the liberation struggles in the 3 continents, the people in Azania (S. Africa), in Palestine, in El Salvador. And of course the movement is very critical of so-called "socialist" states such as Cuba. And when they support liberation struggles they support the peoples' struggle, not just the party.

How does the movement show this solidarity, how do they support these struggles? How do they see this as a part of their day to day lives?

One way for example is going in the streets and demonstrating. The last demo I went to before coming to Canada was in Hamburg. Autonomous and anti-imperialist groups called a demo in support of the Palestinians, the Intifada, and around 3,000 people participated. We went down the streets in Hamburg and there were Palestinian solidarity groups, people from the P.F.L.P. (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), who made a speech, one person form the autonomous movement who made a speech as to why it was important to link the nationwide struggle in West Germany with the international struggle, because the world economic system is organized internationally and it's exploiting people all over the world, so of course it's really important that we as a movement—it doesn't matter if you live in Canada or West Germany—organize the struggle also internationally and be in solidarity with the struggle all over the world; in China, Palestine, Azania, basically the people who are fighting for their right to survive, to live without hunger...and how we show it is going to demos, leaflets, magazines, putting out info. And of course there is the struggle by militant groups, guerrilla groups, like for example the Revolutionary Cells who are attacking the South African businesses, businesses in South Africa or Israel, for example Daimler-Benz supplies the Israeli army with vans and the South African police with vans, cars. So there is a widespread resistance in demos, benefit shows, militant direct actions...and anytime a scumbag from one of these countries is coming we organize big demos....

What are some ways people are living outside of the capitalist system...are people doing that?

It's not entirely possible to live outside of the capitalist system because you live in it, and there isn't any real free space where you can live totally independent, because society affects you all the time. But of course we do try and fight for free spaces, for example squatting, which gives you a certain kind of free space because you don't respect paying rent to housing companies or landlords. And this is a way we try to show a different way of living, and squatting to me is a kind of anti-capitalist struggle because you refuse to pay rent, you don't accept the idea of "property." It's also a de-controlled area we live differently. We don't live isolated, we live together. Like 50-60 people live together, and it's really important for communication, exchanging info, within the movement.

And I suppose by squatting it means not being isolated as much as in a workplace....

For sure. And that's all about what we're fighting for. In Kreuzberg people work and pay like 50-60% of their wage for rent. You work 40 hours a week and 50% of your wage goes to rent. That's totally unjustified, totally against people. Right now there is a campaign in West Berlin to organize a rent boycott also, and now there are 8 big squatted houses in West Berlin, also in Hamburg in the Hafanstrasse. And as I said it's really important for communication, because like in Vancouver you have say 10 different houses, and so the exchange of information isn't that great. You don't have daily discussions, which is important for organization.

So what kind of repression does the autonomous movement face?

I think every movement faces oppression by the government, because if these movements are revolutionary movements, the people who control the country, the government, the corporations, businesses, they want to protect their capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal society, of course! They try to dam up the revolutionary struggle. Many people are arrested, sent to jail, and we must look at how we can organize resistance without getting caught up in this oppressive machine. But everyone who is part of the revolutionary autonomous movement, they know that the people who rule the country don't wanna give up just like that, not voluntarily. For example, this year there was a hunger strike by 48 political prisoners from R.A.F. (Red Army Faction), autonomous and anti-imperialist groups, to fight against the practice of isolation in prison. They demanded association, free medical care, open political debate, so we as an autonomous movement organized a big, widespread campaign to back up the demands; we had big, fucking huge demos, in Hamburg with 8,000, 10,000 in Bonn, many small independent anti-imperialist groups attacked the multi-national corporations with incendiary bombs, we had all kinds of struggles to back up the demands. And it's important to show that the autonomous movement doesn't forget the prisoners, and they are a part of our movement.

Another major position of the autonomous movement is that it is not pacifist, the movement is not only supporting militant, direct actions—the armed struggle—they also practice it. The autonomous movement sees revolutionary violence against an oppressive society as a part of the resistance. This is seen in attacks on property, militant demos, smashing windows of sex shops, riots; this is all part of

Revol news in review

the resistance. It's not that important **how** you are fighting back, violent or non-violent, it's **what** you are fighting for.

What are some ways the autonomous movement fights against patriarchy?

Uh, one militant group, the Roten Zora (Red Zora) is a militant feminist group, and they are a really effective guerilla group. They did the action against Adler, a big multi-national corporation who produce clothing. And this corporation has some factories in South Korea, and here wimmin are working for maybe 20 cents an hour, and these wimmin face sexual harassment, exploitation, and they demanded—in a strike—better work conditions, higher wage, end sexual harassment. Adler didn't give a fuck about this, so Red Zora attacked Adler with incendiary bombs in 10 different places in West Germany, causing approximately \$10 million damage, backing up the wimmin's demands in South Korea. And they were saying, we're going to fucking blow you away. So Adler was forced to do as the workers demanded. This is a good example of militant actions having a positive effect, and can support the struggle of wimmin in the periphery countries, against sexism, against multi-national corporations. It raised consciousness, and Red Zora released statements on the actions which were reprinted in many magazines, so people knew what this corporation was doing and why it was attacked.

We also have many anti-imperialist people who are part of the revolutionary movement who are not quite autonomous in the way that they are organized. They're quite influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas, but most of them are pretty much unorthodox communists; they aren't into parties, but they're not like the autonomous movement, and they don't have as much criticism of state-socialist countries, and they're also supporting more Marxist-Leninist urban guerrilla groups like the R.A.F. The autonomous movement supports their politics in a way, but are really critical to their statements and politics.

I think the autonomous movement has an effect on the society because many, many people are getting pissed off, frustrated, and they'll realize that they're exploited too, by the state. So, of course, they're sympathizing with the autonomous movement in a way, they're saying we should connect more with these people because maybe they're fighting for something I'm fighting for too....

And maybe that's the real hope for change.

That's the real hope for change, of course. 10,000 or 50,000 people can't really change a society, of course we need more people. We aren't stupid. We know we can only win when we are more, when we're the majority of the people. So we have many papers, magazines, radio, demos, many things where we try to educate people, to make contact with other groups in society who are not necessarily autonomous people. For example, in Wackersdorf, where the government is building up a nuclear re-processing plant in Bavaria, and many people are living in this area who are very conservative in their way of thinking, living, voting, etc., but then these people realized that they didn't want this nuclear plant in their area and they started protesting and fighting back. Also many autonomous people were fighting back against this plant, and so conservative people and autonomous people were working together. Many people made good contacts and good friends...and many of these people have changed, realizing that the government doesn't really give a shit about them. And I was down there, at the fences which they built around the construction area, and



Photo from *Endless Struggle*

over half the people at the protests were from the area. Many very old people, all these people were no longer in illusion...they saw the police brutality. I was really amazed how they've changed their way of thinking after they saw the police violence. And we were down there trying to break through the fence, which wasn't totally possible with about 20,000 cops inside, and they were throwing tear-gas, etc., and an old man came up with us and he said: "This is really great, what you are doing. You know, I'm really too old to do this, I'm really not able to break the fence with a bolt-cutter or to saw it, but you know what? I would use dynamite!" It was one of the most positive experiences I've had with people who have different ways of thinking and living. And I saw the possibility that if we fight with these people we're going to be a bigger movement. It gave me a lot of optimism and hope, that it's possible to build a movement capable of stopping the people who rule the society. And it's not just that I'm fighting **against** something, I'm also fighting **for** something, to express my love and feelings, to explore—something I can't do in this society. I'm caught.

Thanks a lot for talking.

Okay, and I hope the struggle continues in Canada as in West Germany, and one day we're gonna make it. Ciao!

Reprinted from *Endless Struggle* #11/Winter '89 (POB 69601 Stn.K, Vancouver B.C., V5K 4W7 Canada).

Malthusian mystification More reactionary environmentalism

Despite the well-known arguments by eco-anarchist writers like George Bradford (of the **Fifth Estate**) and Murray Bookchin, which have demolished the new Malthusianism of the self-proclaimed "Deep ecologists," many environmentalists continue to play this reactionary card in their misguided fight against the overpopulation "menace." One of the latest of the disgusting attempts by environmentalists to suppress immigration into the United States on "ecological" grounds has been the work of Population-Environment Balance, Inc., a non-profit organization using a mixture of pro-ecology rhetoric, neo-Malthusian ideology and *de facto* appeals to racist and nationalist sentiments. This organization, whose origins and backing are obscure (its propagandists certainly aren't interested in revealing them in their mailings), is now demanding a legal U.S. immigration limit of 200,000 persons per year, as well as claiming credit for helping to "win the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 which attempts to bring illegal immigration under control by imposing tough employer sanctions."

In a recent membership-appeal mailing, signed by the organization's Executive Director Rose M. Hanes, overpopulation was blamed for just about everything, without a word about the real social/economic origins of our current worldwide ecological catastrophe in the development and expansion of industrial capitalism. Instead, the mailing centers on a demagogic and xenophobic appeal:

"Why do so many of America's problems persist despite our efforts to solve them? We Americans work hard to improve our individual lives and our country as a whole. Yet, even though we continue to make these sacrifices, we continue to suffer from worsening problems such as environmental degradation, traffic jams, deteriorating infrastructures and homelessness...THERE IS A SOLUTION! ...But before we



can discuss the solution, we must fully understand the primary cause of these problems—overpopulation." [All underlining is reproduced from the mailing.]

After blaming all this and much more on overpopulation, the mailing goes on (after quickly dismissing "Natural increase" as merely "one factor") to single out, you guessed it, "illegal as well as legal immigration" as "a major cause of population growth in the already overcrowded United States." The mailing even makes the standard fascist appeal that "these illegal immigrants use tax-supported public services and, in many cases, fill jobs that Americans need." In fact, the clever little logo of the organization says it all—an increasingly large "population" with a (qualitatively) decreasing "Environment" superimposed upon the national borders of the United States, minus Alaska, Hawaii and "dependencies."

Undoubtedly, many sincere but naive environmentalists will be seduced into contributing to this type of borderline-fascist appeal, while many reactionary environmentalists will support it with open eyes. All radical environmentalists and ecological anarchists will have to work to oppose and expose this organization before it makes very many inroads into the environmental movement as a whole, just as the reactionary neo-Malthusianism of the "deep" ecologists has already been discredited for all those who have minds to think with. For those who would like further information on this organization, Population-Environment Balance, Inc. can be contacted at: 1325 G Street N.W., Suite 1003, Washington, D.C. 20005-3104.

—Lev Chernyi



Two anti-I.M.F. protesters during the militant demonstrations in West Berlin of September, 1988. Photo from *Endless Struggle*

Continued on next page

Alternative media review

Anarchist Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

BLACK EYE #7/mid-Summer '89 (339 Lafayette, Suite 2, New York, NY.10012) is a small-sized, 40-page journal, usually packed with interesting stuff if you have the patience for reading the tiny print. This issue includes a very engaging piece entitled "Take things from work: The strategy of appearance, the audacity of real life as a tactic" by b.p. ummfatik, "Illusions, drugs and black nationalism" by Duane Holmes, "As communism dies, dreams for anew revolution" by Bob Erler, "Squatting as self-determination" by Mary Shelley, "The rule of the roles" by Edwin Hammer, and "How to think like a Jacobin" by Paul Simons. No subscriptions, but single copies are \$1.50 cash (no checks).

SOCIAL ANARCHISM #14/1989 (2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD. 21218) is a neatly produced, 128-page "Journal of Practice and Theory." This issue focusses on education with major articles including "Anarchist in academe" by Kingsley Widmer (fairly honest and interesting), "John Cage on Pedagogy" by Richard Kostelanetz, "What should be done about higher education?" by Brian Martin, "Walden Center and School" by David Koven, and "Living our lives" by Ruthann Robson. Also included is a section of poetry and (most interesting to me) a section of 13 reviews--including reviews of *The Education of Desire* (on the art/work of Cliff Harper) by Michael Bacon, bell hooks' *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* by Linda Pinkow, and Kirkpatrick Sale's *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision* by Kingsley Widmer. Subscriptions are \$10/2 years (4 issues).

ENDLESS STRUGGLE #10/Summer & #11/Winter '89 (POB 69601 Stn.K, Vancouver BC. V5K 4W7, Canada) is a nicely-produced and very readable 28-page zine. Articles in #10 include "Native fight back," "A.L.F. attacks," "More on voting," and "A world to win: Anar-

chist & autonomous left in Europe," as well as an interesting "Talk with Resistance." Issue #11 includes "Against bio and gene-technology," an account of the "O.W.N. gathering '89" (Obnoxious Wimmin's Network), "Day of action analyses," "El Salvador" & the "Commandos Urbanos," "Poetry: Sabotaging Shell," "Palestinian resistance," and an interesting interview with a West Berlin autonomist entitled "Fire and flames." Worth checking out. Sample copies are \$1.50.



ALSO RECEIVED:

Echomedia July-Aug. '89 (BM Box 7014, London WC1N 3XX, England) is a little 12-page bulletin of international radical & anarchist news. Send a donation for a sample copy.

Class War #32, #33, #34 & #36 [undated] (POB 467, London E8 3QX, England) is the militant, 8 to 12-page, "bash-the-rich" paper of the English Class War Federation. Simplistic writing with a crystal clear message--the cover slogan is "BY ALL MEANS NECESSARY." Articles include "Fight back or fashion parade; Guardian Angels" and "Ten years of Thatcher...ten years of class war." Subscriptions are £3-5.00/year (5 issues).

Malcontent #4/June '89 (Box M, 19 Brynmor Rd., Brynmill, Swansea, West Glam, SA1 4JH, Britain) is the final issue of this 24-page zine. It includes "Anarchy as rebellion," "A gibberish case for veganism" and "How to smash the poll tax." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Green Anarchist #20/Autumn-Winter '88-89 & #21/Spring '89 (Box H, 34 Cowley Rd., Oxford OX4 1HZ, U.K.) is a lively 24-page magazine dedicated to creating a society of "Autonomous, self-sufficient villages, bringing regression of technology: no industry, no pollution, no hunger, no bomb." It's cover motto is "The enemies of the people are those who know what people need." Issue #20 includes "Battle for the hills" and "Why the Third World counts." Issue #21 includes a section on "Women and men." Subscriptions are £4.50/10 issues.

Counter Information #23/April-June '89 (Pigeonhole C1, c/o 11 Forth St., Edinburgh, Scotland) is a 4-page newsheet. Issue #23 includes coverage of the mass poll-tax nonpayment in Britain, and (in a 2-page supplement to this issue) a "Letter from Amerikkka" which details recent squatting activity in Seattle. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Attack [undated] (Attack International, BM 6577, London WC1N 3XX, England) is a 24-page paper emphasizing all-out class war, subtitled "The Voice of Respectable Moderation." Articles include: "Left, right, left," "And they wonder why we hate them" (on the rich!), "Ticking their boxes ain't gonna stop us now" and "Top ten tips for killing cops." For a sample copy while they last, "pay what you want."

Ecomedia Bulletin #61/Oct.3, #62/Oct. 17, #63/Oct.31, & #64/Nov.14, '89 (POB 915, Stn. F, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9, Canada) is a 4-page fortnightly anarchist news bulletin. Issues # 63 & 64 include several pieces of

news on current "Canadian" native land struggles. Subscriptions are \$15/year (26 issues).

Effigy #1 (1803 Mission #172, Santa Cruz, CA. 95060) is first 6-page issue of Ecomedia Santa Cruz. This issue focusses on personal experiences of dealing with homophobic and racist attitudes among "allies." Send an SASE for a copy.

Profane Existence #1/Dec.'89-Jan.'90 (POB 8722, Mpls, MN. 55408) is a new 32-page anarchist fanzine. This issue includes a repetition of the lately-popular Malthusian nonsense on population in "The end of civilization as we know it" by Felix, a column on the Anarchist Youth Federation by Dan, accounts of the San Francisco anarchist gathering, punk scene reports and interviews. Subscriptions are \$9/year (6 issues).

The Thought Vol.9, #7/July, #8/Aug. #9/Sept. & #10/Oct.'89 (POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is a 22-page, photocopied, monthly publication of the Philosophers Guild. Issue #7 includes "Anarcho-feminism: Necessity or divisionistic?" by Ronald Tobin, and a reprint of Bob Black's "Anarchism and other impediments to anarchy." Issue #8 includes "Gravity's graveyard" by Ben Price. Issue #9 includes "On business" by D. Castleman. Issue #10 includes a long & sophomoric, true-believer article "In defense of Ayn Rand" by Virginia Hamel, and a fairly good debunking of religious and political doomayers entitled "No end in sight" by Ben Price. Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

Green Perspectives #18/Nov.'89 (POB 111, Burlington, VT. 05402) is a 6-page "Left Green" publication featuring Murray Bookchin's essay "Radical politics in an era of advanced capitalism," essentially a restatement of his libertarian municipalist perspective. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

The Shadow #5/July-Aug., #6/Sept. & #7/Oct.-Nov.'89 (POB 20298, New York, NY. 10009) is a relatively new and energetic 20-page tabloid. Issue #5 includes the cover story "Pigs attack the homeless" on the Tompkins Square Park struggle, "When Dallas Sizzled" on the origins of the recent flag-burning case that went to the Supreme Court, and a story entitled "Skinheads, protestors clash" on a skinhead rampage in New York. Issue #6 includes "Tompkins Square Park Pig Riot; the first annual victory celebration," "Day of outrage" over the death of Yusef Hawkins at the hands of racists in Bensonhurst, and a report on the 1989 Without Borders gathering. Issue #7 includes "War declared on the homeless," "Fuck the N.Y. Press!" and "Riot cops beat rap." Subscriptions are \$10/year (? issues).

(in-sit) #2/Autumn '89 (POB 17406, Arlington, VA. 22216) is a well-produced, 8-page newsletter with the motto "Order without freedom is repressive, and freedom without order is anarchy" on its front page. This issue includes "As we go marching to work" by Mark Frederic (advocating a "permanent strike"), an account of "The battle of Virginia Beach" by Emile Henry, and a couple short book reviews. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

RABL Rouser unnumbered/undated (POB 10854, Mpls, MN. 55458-3854) is an 8-page tabloid published by the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League. This issue's theme is "RABL exposed! Personal politics issue." Articles include "Kids say the darndest things" by Ned Day, "Propaganda & dehumanization" by Tiziano Fontanive, "Confessions of a lesbian" by Dolly Warrin, "Three days behind bars" by Lou Bellissimo & Dick Weber, and "State or revolution" by Ned Day. Send a contribution for a sample.

No Longer Silent #2/Summer '89 (Black Web, POB 3582, Tucson, AZ. 85722) is a 20-page zine featuring letters, poetry, and short articles including "Why the black flag" and "Who do they think they're fooling--you?" Subscriptions are \$5.00/year (4 issues).

Slingshot Vol.1, #29/July '89 (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720) is an energetic, 24-page student paper. This issue features "Slingshot--here is some radical pussy" by Rebecca Williams, "Class war in the coal mines" by Wile E. Coyote, "Abort the court" by Pussy Posse, "Stop the N.W. animal torture facility," information on preparing for the

"D.O.A." (which fizzled), and "Peoples Park '69 to '89; The battle continues." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Writing On The Wall "Pilot issue"/Summer '89 (3829 N. Broadway, Chicago, IL. 60613) is a 16-page tabloid produced as part of the effort to get a "continental anarchist monthly" started. This issue includes "Reproductive freedom: Taking charge" by Liz Highleyman, "In spite of violence, spear-fishing continues" by Lars, an account of the 20th anniversary Stonewall demonstration by Becky Conekin, "Crackpots and dreamers--who can save the Earth?" by Doug Clark, "The year in revolt" by Ned Day, and William Falk on "What is the newspaper project?" Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Black Flag #194/Oct.'89 (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an 8-page, monthly anarcho-syndicalist newspaper--now subtitled "For Anarchist Resistance." This issue includes "Exposed; the serious crimes squad," "Capitalism or liberty? East Europe at crossroads," and "Anarchism in Poland." Subscriptions are £10/year (12 issues).

Little Free Press #71 (2714 1st Ave. So., Minneapolis, MN. 55408) is a 6-page rant against social radicalism in favor of individualist/reformist change--entitled "An individual's freedom"--which also, as usual, advocates a "priceless economy" without imagining any likely way to achieve it. Send an SASE for a copy.

Prisons & Visions #1 (POB 7962, Austin, TX. 78713-7962) is a fun little (mini-format) 24-page zine with information on the Anarchist Black Cross and short pieces on "Why the state? Why not be free?" and "Taxe\$." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Ideas & Action #12/Fall '89 (POB 40400, San Francisco, CA. 94140) is the irregular 16-page tabloid organ of the Workers Solidarity Alliance, a small, U.S. anarcho-syndicalist grouping affiliated with the International Workers Association (I.W.A./A.I.T.). This is a "Special Issue for the 1989 Anarchist Conference," including Tom Wetzels' "Technology, workers control & the environmental crisis," an "Open letter to the Without Borders anarchist conference," coverage of the recent coal strikes & the crackdown on autonomous unionists in China, as well as lots of material on the Workers Solidarity Alliance itself. Subscriptions are \$7.50/4 issues.

Here and Now #9 (c/o Transmission Gallery, 28 King St., Glasgow G1 5QP, Scotland) is a 20-page magazine featuring "The tigers of wrath" (on the Rushdie/Moslem hysteria) by John Barrett, "Shroud a fake--Official!" (on the English Stalinists) by Alex Richards, "No poll tax rebellion" by Jim McFarlane, "We need solidarity: not Charter 88!" by Martin Walker & Les Levidow, "Assemble or dissemble" (on the new Scottish nationalism) by Alex Richards, and a review of the recent Institute of Contemporary Art exhibition of Situationist International paraphernalia entitled "Rebellion remodelled" by Pete Suchin. Subscriptions are £3.00/3 issues (checks made to G.P.P.).

OTHER NON-ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PERIODICALS RECEIVED:

Anarkia Aug., Oct. & Nov.'89 (P.B. 26050, T.K. 10022, Athens, Greece) is the 16-page, Greek-language monthly newspaper of the Greek Union of Anarchists carrying extensive news coverage and commentary. Cover price is 100 Drachmas

Le Libertaire; Revue de Synthese Anarchiste #99/Sept. & #100/Nov.'89 (25 rue Dumé d'Aplemont, 76600 Le Havre, France) is a 4-page, monthly, French-language "review of synthetic anarchism" published by the Union des anarchistes. International subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

CNT #103/June-July, #104/July-Aug., #105/Aug.-Sept., #106/Sept.-Oct., #107/Oct.-Nov. & #108/Nov.-Dec.'89 (CNT-Periódico, Apartado, n.º 282, 48080 Bilbao, Spain) is the 20-page Spanish-language newspaper of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Workers union) in Spain. Issue #103 includes along essay on "Social ecology, what is it?" by Murray Bookchin, a reprint from *Anarchy* of our article covering "The Greek anarchist movement" and a story on the dispute between the German Greens & German syndicalists of the D.G.B. Issue #104 features news of the recent English dockers strike, the continuing struggle for the "historical patrimony" of the C.N.T. (the property stolen from the C.N.T. by Franco), and an article on the destruction of atmospheric ozone. Issue #105 includes features "China: The repression continues in silence," articles on "The militarization of Venezuela" and "Menem-Afonso: Politics of impunity" (on the amnesty for the military torturers & mass-murderers in Argentina). Issue #106 includes a story on "The false struggle against narcotics trafficking," a long feature on

Continued on next page

Alternative press review

Continued from previous page

better-than-average, 32-page punk-zine carrying the usual array of show & record & band reviews, interviews and ads. Issue #5 also includes a piece on the Without Borders "Anarchy Festival" this last summer by Darby. And there are nicely done covers on all issues! Subscriptions are \$10/year (6 issues).

The Weedeater #2 (c/o Ancorag Press, U.S.F. #3146, Tampa, FL. 33620-3146) is a small, 24-page, xeroxed zine. The feature article is "Answering U.S. imperialism." Subscriptions are \$4/4 issues.

OTHER SMALL PUBLICATIONS:

Trees #14/Spring '89 (Urgl-orp and stuff, POB 2541 Stn. D, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5W6, Canada) is a little xeroxed zine on just that subject. Samples are \$1.

Prison News Service/The Marionette #20,/July-Aug. & #21-/Sept.-Oct.'89 (POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4) is a combined 16-page newsletter. Issues #20/44 include articles on "Dope distortion," "Prison militarization" and "Native Americans denied sweat-lodge." Issues #21/45 include "Camp Hill conflagration," "International notes," and "Hunger strike in Spain." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

The Advocate Fall '89 (c/o Peace Farm, HCR 2 Box 25, Panhandle, TX. 79068) is the 24-page newsletter of the Peace Farm near Amarillo, Texas (apparently a liberal pacifist group sponsored by "the Franciscan Sisters"). This issue includes accounts of a civil disobedience action against Pantex. Subscriptions are \$5/year (4 issues?).

The Southern Libertarian Messenger Vol. XVIII, #4/-Aug., #5/Sept. & #6/Oct.'89 (Rt.10 Box 52A, Florence, SC. 29501) is a 12-page, photocopied right-wing, Christian "libertarian" publication made up largely of news clippings and promotional material for the misnamed "Libertarian Party." Subscriptions are \$6/year (12 issues).

The Subversive #1 (11338 Joffre St., L.A., CA. 90049) is a 14-page student magazine. Send a contribution for a sample.

Campus Review Vol.5, #8/Nov.'89 (336 S. Clinton, Suite 16, Iowa City, IA. 52240) is a scurrilous, right-wing college student tabloid. Issue #8 contains more of the same old reactionary shit dished up in previous issues--homophobia, anti-feminism, attacks on civil liberties, etc. Subscription information not given.

Pagans for Peace #42/Nov.9989 A.D.A. (POB 86134, North Vancouver, B.C. V7L 4J5, Canada) is an 8-page newsletter for socially-activist pagans. Subscriptions are \$15/year (13 issues).

Poor Robert's Almanac #4/1989 (461 North 800 East, Provo, UT. 84606) is a neatly-produced, low-key, 18-page zine. This issue includes "No-Woman's Land: Exploring and escaping sexist language" by Wendy Fritzsche, and "Feminism and anarchism: A union of necessity" by Stan Burnett. Send \$1.00 for a sample copy.

The Spark #1 (Nancy Emmet Horgan, POB 772, Vashon, WA. 98070) is a 7-page, photocopied prison-zine. This issue includes a chronological history of Walla Walla prison in Washington state. Send a contribution for a sample.

Current #2/Fall '89 (Big River EFi, POB 189, Pacific, MO. 63069) is an 8-page Earth First! newsletter presumably aimed at those in the Mississippi River Valley region. This issue includes a story on a "forest blockade" at the Trail of Tears State Forest in Southern Illinois, and an opinion column entitled "I monkeywrench" by Ann R Kose. Subscriptions are \$3/year (4 issues).

Someplace Like Earth #3 (c/o Chris Caggiano, 1737 Grove St. #1, Ridgewood, NY. 11385) is a 12-page, photocopied zine focussing on Iron-Contragate. Send a contribution for a sample.

Storm Warning! #13/Dec.'89 (VVAW-AI, 4710 University Way NE., Suite 1612, Seattle, WA. 98105) is a 20-page anti-imperialist veterans newsletter. This issue contains news of (and incitements to engage in) flag-burnings. Subscriptions are \$10/year(?) (10 issues).

Alternative media review

The British alternative small press Small Press Yearbook 1990 Reviewed by Lev Chernyi

Small Press Yearbook 1990 edited by Ed Baxter (Small Press Group of Britain, London, England, 1989) 224pp illustrated, £5.99 paper.

Although many North Americans may be well aware of the explosion of small zines, journals and book publishers in recent years, most remain unfamiliar with the small press scene in Britain. In the U.S. *Factsheet Five* (see the review on page 6 of this issue) and publications like the *International Directory of Little Magazines and Small Presses* (available in many libraries) reveal the huge extent of this explosion, but though they list some publications from England, Scotland and Wales, they don't provide a comprehensive overview of that publishing scene. The *Small Press Yearbook* will definitely help fill the gap.

Though even the *Yearbook* isn't yet a fully comprehensive guide to the British small press scene (I see several obvious omissions), as far as I'm aware it's the closest thing yet to achieving that goal. The editor, Ed Baxter, is intimately involved in the British small press scene—distributing a "range of U.K. & foreign small presses, radical, anarchist, post-modernist, weird & uncategorizable books,

pamphlets, magazines, journals & other items" through Counter Productions. His strong advocacy of the value of "independent and autonomous publishing" led to the release of the first edition of the *Yearbook* last year. And hopefully the upcoming editions will continue to improve the comprehensiveness of its listings.

The *Yearbook* is divided into three sections. The first includes about 30 pages of information for small publishers and those intending to begin publishing for the first time. Most of it is pretty basic, but a lot of very worthwhile sources of further information and important contacts are also listed. The second section includes the body of the book, the alphabetical directory of small presses listing addresses, brief descriptions of their aims, their book and periodical titles in print and forthcoming. While the last section includes three indexes: 1) presses, 2) subjects and 3) publications by title and author. All in all it's very well organized and extremely useful. The book can be ordered from Counter Productions (POB 556, London SE5 0RL, England). Trade orders from outside Britain should include payment in Sterling (i.e. British currency) adding £2 for airmail.

Anarchist press review

Continued from page 7

ecofeminism and social ecology by Chia Heller entitled "Más allá del dualismo," and even an article on "PVCs, plastic assassins." #107 includes an analysis of anarchosyndicalism in the Soviet Union. #108 includes news and commentary on the rebellion in Eastern Europe, nuclear power, and the instability of the world economic situation. And each issue, of course, also includes many other pieces of news and commentary—most oriented towards workplace struggles in Spain and around the world. Subscriptions are 1900ptas./year (12 issues).

Comunicats dels Presos [undated] (Apartat de correus 2.192, Barcelona 08080, Spain—don't put the periodical name in the address) is a 16-page Spanish-language compilation of news on political prisoners and prison struggles. This issue includes a petition regarding U.S. political-prisoner Leonard Peltier. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Cultura Libertaria #15/May '89 (Fundación Isaac Puente, Apartado de correos 1687, Vitoria 01080, Spain) is the 24-page, Spanish-language bulletin of the Isaac Puente center for libertarian documentation. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Solidaridad Obrera #202/June & #203/July-August '89 (Pza. Medinaceli, 6, pral., 1^a; 08002-Barcelona; Spain) is the 16-page, Spanish-language regional newspaper of the anarchosyndicalist C.N.T. in Catalonia. Issue #202 features extensive coverage of the C.N.T.'s 1st of May celebrations, marches and gatherings around Spain this year. Issue #203 includes profiles of "Women for liberty" (including Louise Michel and Emma Goldman, among others) and regional union news. Cover price: 65ptas. Send at least double that to include postage for a sample copy.

El Libertario #14/Nov.-Dec.'88 & #16/Sept.-Oct.'89 (Brasil 1551, 1154 Buenos Aires, Argentina) is the 4-page, Spanish-language newspaper of the Federación Libertaria Argentina. Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Centre Internationale de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme Bulletin #45 (Case Postale 214, 1211 Genève 13, Switzerland) is a 28-page listing of materials received by this international research and documentation center. Sections are printed in English, French, German, Spanish and Italian. C.I.R.A. membership is \$25/year—including a subscription to the bulletin and access to bibliographical information and loans of materials.

Bulldozer #1 & #2 (Direkte Aktion, c/o A.S.O., Postbox 303, 1502 Kbh.V., Denmark) was the magazine of the Danish Anarchist Black Cross—"an international organization working for the abolition of prisons and supporting the international anarchist movement." However, after two issues the Black Cross is joining with the Danish Anarko-Syndikalistisk Organisation (A.S.O.-I.W.A.) to produce a new anarchist quarterly titled *Direkte Aktion*. A.B.C. Denmark and the I.S.O.-I.W.A. also publish English-language newsletters for those who don't read Danish. Send a contribution for sample copies.

Alternative Gallery 1988-89 (PO Box 20037, GR-11810 Athens, Greece) is an annual summary of publications received by the Alternative Gallery Archive. Send a contribution for a copy.

The Anarchist #22, #25 & #26 (Y.Kastanas,

Argiroupolos 27, Athens 11471) is a 4-page Greek-language street-sheet from Athens. Send a contribution for a sample.

Autonomy Action Election '89 special issue (PO Box 80674, T.K. 18510 Athens, Greece) is a 16-page, Greek-language anti-election paper. Send a contribution for a sample.

Disturb@nce #3 (POB 31261, 10035 Athens, Greece) is an 8-page, Greek-language newspaper. This issue contains the first part of a 3 or 4 part "short history of the Greek anarchist movement." Send a contribution for a sample copy.

Cultura Libertaria #16/Oct.'89 (Fundación Isaac Puente, Apdo de correos 1687, 01080 Vitoria, Spain) is a 28-page, Spanish-language catalog of libertarian publications received by the Asociación Isaac Puente from around the world. Send a contribution for a copy.

Solidaridad #19/Nov.'89 (Magallanes 1764, Código Postal 11800, Montevideo, Uruguay) is a 16-page, Spanish-language tabloid "Periódico Obrero y Popular." This issue includes articles on the Uruguayan elections, as well as coverage of the situations in Guatemala and Argentina. Single copy price is \$25.50.

Bulletin CRIFA #52/Oct.'89 (145, rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France) is a 16-page, French, Italian, and Spanish-language publication of the Commission de Relations de l'Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes. This issue includes articles on the situations in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, France, China, Argentina and Poland. Send a contribution for a copy.

Trafik #32 (Eduardstrasse 40, D-4330 Mülheim 1, West Germany) is a well-produced 92-page, German-language "International Journal for Libertarian Culture and Politics." This issue centers on "Alternative living," with articles on "Kommune wagen" by Fritz Vilmar, "Mensch und Gemeinschaft" by Egon Günther, "Kommune in der Abhängigkeit von Gesellschaft und Staat" by Uwe Kurzbein, and "Konsensprinzip in der Kommune" by Burkhard Keimburg, among others. Single copies are 7DM plus postage.

Brand #30 & #31 (Box 15015, S-104 65 Stockholm, Sweden) "is the only anarchist monthly magazine in Sweden." This is a very lively and interesting Swedish-language magazine, published since 1898. And for English subscribers, there is usually an English summary of contents included in each issue. Issue #31 includes a couple pieces on and by Noam Chomsky. Send a contribution for a sample.



The anarchist scene

Compiled by Lev Chernyi

PRISONERS ANARCHIST NETWORK AT LARGE (P.A.N.A.L., POB 4167, Halfmoon, NY. 12065) publishes a bi-monthly paper, *Behind The Walls*. Also available from this address is information on the case of Michael J. Stotts, who is serving a 75-year sentence resulting from his activism and refusal to remain silent in prison.

THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE OF THE International Blacklist is scheduled to be published in January, 1990 by Left Bank Distribution (c/o 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA. 98101). For those who haven't seen earlier editions, this is an anti-authoritarian directory "emphasizing public anarchist and other similar anti-authoritarian publications, projects, groups and individuals. Also listed are those who, though not anarchist, provide information that is helpful to an anti-authoritarian analysis of the world including anti-militarist, ecologist, indigenous, feminist, gay, sexuality, prisoner, punk, mail-art, human rights, Latin American, Middle East, Eastern Europe, Asian dissidents and other alternative points of view which don't follow some Party's line." Over 5,000 listings filling 200 pages. Tentative price is \$10.00 plus postage and handling. No orders will be accepted without payment enclosed. To add your project to the blacklist, write to Terminal Words, POB 590052, S.F., CA. 94159.

A RECENTLY RELEASED REPRINT OF PAUL Goodman's *The Black Flag of Anarchism and Other Essays* from Employee Theft Press is now available from Bound Together Books (1369 Haight St., San Francisco, CA. 94117) for \$2.00 per copy plus 10% shipping. This 46-page pamphlet includes several of Goodman's important political essays (from Taylor Stoehr's edition of *Drawing the Line*) including "Reflections on the Anarchist Principle," "Reflections on Drawing the Line" and "Anarchism and Revolution." Paul Goodman remains one of the major North American anarchist authors and theorists of this century. If you haven't yet encountered his political essays, this pamphlet is a must!

A NEW QUARTERLY JOURNAL IS IN THE planning stages, based on Holley Cantine's *Retort; A Quarterly Journal of Anarchism, Art and reviews* published from 1942 through 1951. The new *Retort* (POB 31958, Oakland, CA. 94604), subtitled "Journal of Art Science and Politics," is slated to begin publication in Spring 1990 with a premiere issue dedicated to the lifework of Lewis Mumford. Literary, artistic and financial contributions are being solicited.

DEMOLITION DERBY HAS INFORMED us that there will be another issue out in July '90. If the journal continues after that it will come out once a year. The next issue will include a critique of militancy, critiques of feminism (by Annie Le Brun, Dominique Fouquet [of L'Unique et Son Ombre] and perhaps others), and responses to the article on anarchosyndicalism which appeared in the first issue of *D.D.* Send a couple of dollars or I.R.C.s (if you have it), but no checks to: **Demolition Derby**, C.P. 1554, Succ. "B", Montréal, P.Q. Canada H3B 3L2.

A NEW BOOK OF POEMS HAS BEEN published by Melen Lunn. Entitled *Reaching*, the book holds 15 poems, including three previously published in *Anarchy* #19 (see page 31 of that issue). For information on obtaining a copy, contact: 1639 Alabama Street, San Francisco, CA. 94110.

THE POIGNANT STORY OF A STRUGGLE to save an old neighborhood in northwest Portland is chronicled in a new pamphlet entitled *Ashes to Ashes, Dust to Dust, Destruction and Resistance*. The pamphlet is available from The Albanian Poodle Press (POB 40112, Portland, OR. 97240).

If you have announcements concerning anarchist gatherings, new publications, or other anarchist activities or projects which our readers might find of use, you can send them to: Attn. Anarchist Scene, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446.

Sad shorts

N.R.C. to deregulate "low-level" radioactive waste

According to the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (N.R.C.) will soon release a final policy statement allowing the deregulation of basic radiation protection rules. Shortly thereafter, a nuclear industry proposal to allow the industry to dispose of much of its radioactive waste as regular garbage is expected. The N.R.C. and the nuclear industry expect to save millions of dollars each year by classifying this waste as "Below Regulatory Concern," although a careful reading of their documentation shows that much of the cost will be transferred to affected communities.

Once this policy is in place, the N.R.C. is expected to allow radioactive waste generators to routinely dispose of their waste without monitoring or notification of the general public or waste disposal facilities of its radioactivity. Sanitation, transportation, waste treatment, recycling and disposal workers could come into contact with radioactive waste without their knowledge. The waste could leak from local

landfills, be burned in incinerators, flushed down sewers or transported with no more restrictions than are applied to "normal" garbage.

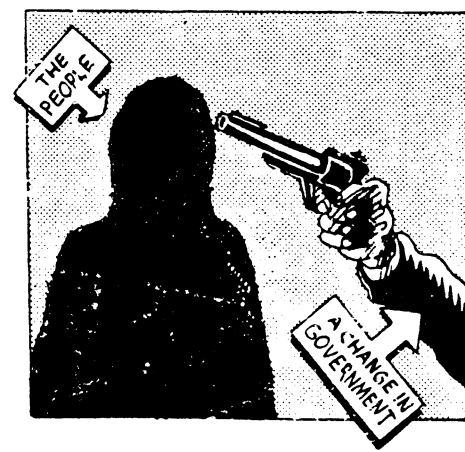
Psychic flattened

A Soviet psychic named E. Frenkel was killed in early October attempting to stop a train with his fabulous powers. According to Associated Press reports, the engineer of the train that flattened Frenkel near the southern Soviet city of Astrakhan said the would-be psychic "stepped onto the tracks with his arms raised, his head lowered and his body tensed." In notes found later by investigators, Frenkel wrote "First I stopped a bicycle, cars and a streetcar. Now I'm going to stop a train." But he ran flat out of luck with his valiant attempt.

Soviets admit mistake

Continued from page 3

of Grenada was the crazed and demented act of a bullying empire? The list of U.S. atrocities throughout the world just in the last 30 years would require an hour-long apology just to list the countries and dates involved! But don't expect the North American public (that loyal and thoroughly housebroken "empire's best friend") to rise up and demand that the truth be told anytime soon.



International anarchist news

The movement in Yugoslavia —A Weak Link in the Anarchist Chain

Having been in Yugoslavia for a year and made lots of contacts, I'd like to say a bit on the position of anarchism in this country. Encouraging news like that which can be heard from Poland and Hungary is unfortunately all too rare from Yugoslavia. We're dealing with a fairly rudimentary situation.

A search through the history of the Balkans, or at least of that part of the Balkan peninsula that is today within the state of Yugoslavia, reveals only limited traces of anarchism. Mention should be made of the old agrarian social structures with their peasant cooperatives and other traditions of mutual aid. But these can only be considered in context with the strong patriarchal relations, the domination of monotheistic religion, and the ethnic/national preoccupations which here all too often boil over into blood-thirsty chauvinism. Anyway, industrialization has removed almost all trace of these old libertarian elements, without damaging the nationalisms, patriarchy and religion.

Several other things of historical interest are a syndicalist propaganda group which was active in Belgrade shortly after the turn of the century (and about which recently an article appeared in the Zagreb sociological review *Pitanja*), a rural commune which existed in Slavonia (north central Yugoslavia), and a workers' soccer club before World War II in Split which called itself "Anarchos" and apparently developed some elements of a popular anarchist culture.

The Yugoslav system of workers' control arouses quite a deal of interest. This so-called "self-managed socialism" involves a considerable degree of decision-making independence in many thousands of enterprises and factories in all branches of the economy. This needs to be considered, however, in the overall framework of central control by the Yugoslav League of Communists. It seems that this widely-praised "alternative model for socialism" with its economic (and to a certain extent cultural) decentralization came about not on the basis of libertarian-type ideas but much more due to the decentralized settlement pattern and social diversity of the mountainous country. The Stalinist party leadership couldn't create a centralized economy overnight. So in 1950, with the introduction of appropriate legislation, they yoked together the country in a framework of semi-autonomous workers' councils. (Which is quite a contradiction, no? You can be no more semi-autonomous than you can be semi-pregnant....)

Most people will have heard of the current Yugoslav crisis, marked for example by over 1,000% skyrocketing inflation and a flaring up of nationalist conflicts, linked with or triggered by an aggressive Serbian chauvinism under Milosevic (Serbian Party boss and President of that Republic.) The official ideology has lost direction and admits it is in crisis. In the northwest of the country many independent political groups are forming. Largely on the model of Western liberal parties, and are increasingly searching for a share in political influence. Ideological control has diminished in the last few years and sections of the press are showing an openness and critical approach unknown in the last decade.

Although party-domination and its ideology are rejected by large sectors of the population verbally, the inherent culture of uncertainty and fear is not so easy to overcome. Almost everyone is a cynic, but almost no one wants to become involved in alternative politics. I feel that the unstable economic situation and the plummet in living standards is strengthening this passivity. But other anarchists think differently. They say that the simple existence of a crisis in the country motivates people to change, that it will of itself generate resistance. (Strikes me as a mechanistically "Marxist"-type view.)

Anarchists in Yugoslavia are few and far between. There are no firm groups, but there is a loose network of individuals in the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Recently a "Tertiary-school Alliance of Anti-Yugoslav Anarchists" (AAAA) was formed in Ljubljana, but I don't know much about it yet. A Zagreb comrade said the founding of the group was just meant as a joke. Some anarchists are

involved in women's groups, peace groups and ecological initiatives like SVARUN in Zagreb. The anarchists tend to be young, most are tertiary-educated or are currently studying. Some classical anarchist literature has been translated into Serbo-Croat and Slovenian, but it seems that there is virtually nothing modern and/or popular, e.g., Situationist texts, power-analysis, anarchist comics, etc.

During my contacts with anarchists here I've noticed an almost total absence of syndicalist inclination. The current transition to classically capitalist economic structures without elements of self-management will probably lead to extreme exploitation (like in the South-East Asian "Free Trade Zone"?) unless there are strong workers' defense organizations. But there are sporadic positive signs, like the refusal earlier this year by train-drivers in Slovenia to pay dues to the official union.

As far as concrete contacts with Yugoslav anarchists goes, here is the address of a comrade in Zagreb who speaks English and Italian and has good links with other Yugoslav anarchists: Mira Oklobdzija, Maksimirska 76/1, 41000 Zagreb, Yugoslavia (phone: 041 223-009). Larger anarchist organizations around the world will probably have additional addresses; so do I. For other addresses send a SASE to: **On Gogol Boulevard**, 151 First Ave. #62, New York, NY 10003.

In several conversations it was stressed to me how important it is to send anarchist books and magazines. Anarchist material is hard to obtain in Yugoslavia, not least because the average monthly wage is below U.S. \$200 and costs of living are relatively high. Even more important, one anarchist emphasized, is providing financial support so that activists can come abroad and experience a personal exchange of ideas and emotions impossible on paper. In this regard, I think a good example has been set by the U.S. anarchists who planned to invite some Polish comrades to the gathering in San Francisco in July, 1989.

I speak Serbo-Croat and Macedonian and can read Slovenian. If you're looking for a co-worker on any anarchist project relating to Yugoslavia, drop me a line. My address in Australia may seem a long way away, but remember there are many migrant workers and refugees there from Yugoslavia. Here is my address: Will Firth, c/o 1 Holder St. Turner, A.C.T., 2601, Australia.

For a world without borders!

—Will Firth

*SVARUN: Zrtava Fasizma 13, 41000 Zagreb, Yugoslavia

**Until May '90, Will can be contacted at: USSR, Moscow, c/o Australian Embassy, Kropotkinskii per. 13, Will Firth. [Yes, Soviet addresses generally seem to be listed in reverse order on envelopes!]

Reprinted from *On Gogol Boulevard* "News from the Soviet Bloc" section of the *Torch* Oct.'89 (R.S.L., POB 1288, New York, NY 10116).

Autonómia--more news

The newly formed Hungarian anarchist organization, Autonómia, now has groups in other cities besides Budapest, and has members in Eger, Nyiregyhaza and Szekeshevar. Several members of Autonómia are also founding members of the independent trade union, Munkasszolidaritás (Workers' Solidarity). On March 15th, several members of Autonómia took part in a mass demonstration, involving up to 100,000, in Budapest. Autonómia has also participated in prisoners solidarity work and hopes to begin publishing translated editions of anarchist classics, as well as a Hungarian anarchist newspaper. Autonómia would like to receive greetings and copies of anarchist publications and books. They can be contacted at: Autonómia, c/o Eotvos Klub, Karolyi M. ut. 9, H-1053 Budapest, Hungary.

Where are U.S. Greens headed?

Despite alternative and mainstream press coverage all out of proportion to their numbers and influence, U.S. Greens—mostly organized into the Green Committees of Correspondence—have so far failed to capture the imagination of any substantial segment of the population. While relatively large-circulation alternative publications like *Utne Reader*, *New Options* and *Zeta Magazine* have given largely uncritical, at times effusive coverage to the organizing efforts of the Greens, it's hard to avoid the impression that the Greens are only running on (and running out of) the political capital gained from the parliamentary "successes" of their European counterparts, that are unlikely to ever be duplicated here.

Last summer's national Green conference in Eugene, Oregon once again revealed some of the tensions and contradictions within the movement that have led to its present impasse. But also revealed was a relatively surprising interest in the new Left Green caucus, whose meetings included about a quarter of the attendees at the conference according to at least one account. This fact, and the explicitly anticapitalist stance of the new Youth Green organization (whose statement is printed below), reveal that there may be a little life yet left in the Green idea.

Youth Caucus Statement Green Committees of Correspondence

We are a group of young people committed to social justice and ecology. We are alarmed at the direction of society and are concerned about the future. We see that the world is in crisis, and therefore feel that we need to make fundamental changes in all aspects of life. Many youth like us, are experiencing alienation, anger, and frustration, and are looking for alternatives. However, many of them are turning to the political right: to neo-nazi "skins," to racism and nationalism, to George Bush and corporate careers. Where is there a genuine alternative? We have found hope in the radical potential of the Greens.

We are in agreement with the Ten Key Values of the Green Committees of Correspondence (GCoC), which are: 1) Ecological Wisdom, 2) Community Based Economics, 3) Personal and Social Responsibility, 4) Respect for Diversity, 5) Grassroots Democracy, 6) Decentralization, 7) Post-Patriarchal Values, 8) Non-violence, 9) Future Focus/Sustainability, and 10) Global Responsibility. We would like to be involved, and help others become involved, in the process of better defining these values.

We come from many different backgrounds and experiences. As individuals, we have varying levels of understanding of history. The history of radical and revolutionary movements and thinkers is long and diverse, spanning generations. Many projects have failed, or have been defeated, but there have also been successes. We are learning from this history. The GCoC structure, based upon a confederation of affinity groups, has its roots in these traditions, specifically that of the Spanish anarchists.

We feel we have much to learn from a variety of political and cultural traditions, from Native American, to European, Asian and African. We see much value in the civil rights, New Left, feminist, critical theory, anarchist and socialist traditions. As Rosa Luxemburg says, until we create our own language, we are forced to communicate in the existing one. We cannot deny our own particular social context, however, and this desire to study the past should not prevent us from moving forward. Lived experience is as important as philosophy, and combined they create an effective praxis—a unity of theory and action. We believe the Greens must be firmly grounded in concrete struggles for change.

We stress that we define Green as explicitly **anti-capitalist**. Both historical experience and theoretical analysis indicate that capitalism and ecology cannot coexist. The profit motive inherent in capitalism does not allow for truly effective ecological regulations or environmental protection. The priority is profit, not the land or the people. As Greens, we will not compromise with capitalism.

We also reject the national electoral system. This "democracy" has us vote for individuals who make decisions for us. This is disempowering to citizens, and has allowed corporate interests to intervene to control our lives. We advocate government based upon **direct democracy**, whenever possible, and accountable representation, when direct democracy is not possible. An accountable representation would involve citizens meeting to discuss issues, then sending delegates to a larger body, who have mandated positions from the base. This structure is more inclusive, allows every citizen to become an important part of decision-making, and encourages people to better understand the issues which affect their lives. This type of structure also allows for policies which truly represent the choices of the majority of people.

We do not believe that the present system can be reformed. It is partly for this reason that we reject the authority of the state, and seek an entire restructuring of society—although some of us think that the state may play a role in a period of transition to a stateless society. We believe the Greens must offer an alternative which the system itself cannot provide; **it must be revolutionary**.

The world we live in today is absurd, yet business goes on as usual. For instance, the middle class continues to work, without asking questions, while an irrational system destroys the ozone-layer and seriously alters weather patterns. Few people are bold enough to take risks, to point out the contradictions of modern life. The fear of starving and homelessness compels us to take meaningless jobs. Being forced into the streets has taken an unacceptable toll on the poor.

We will not deny our intuition and observations that things are not right. As long as we all go on pretending that there are only minor problems, there won't be any significant solutions. We refuse to participate in the sustenance of illusions. We are speaking out—let your voice be heard as well! We seek to challenge all assumptions, including our own.

Contact address:
Youth Caucus, c/o GCoC Clearinghouse
POB 30208
Kansas City, MO. 64112

International anarchist news

Another report from the San Francisco Day of Action

In October 1969, Weatherman radicals took to the streets in 4 days of actions aimed at disrupting the functioning of the ruling class and imperialist violence in the 3 continents. As an "alternative" action, protests were scheduled seemingly to conflict with the dates of the Weatherman actions. There was a very real split in the movement, over many issues, but primarily with the question of violence.

In July, 1989, 20 years later, this remains the primary split in a newer, younger movement. This year it was the anarchist gathering in San Francisco, and while the people in this debate would hardly be considered Weatherman, nor would they probably want to be Weatherman, the debates are parallel. Ironically, there was also an "action faction" in 1969, and this was the title of the Weatherman in the Students for a Democratic Society.

The central issue at this year's anarchist gathering was the Day of Action (DoA) to be held on the last day of the gathering, or "after" the gathering as some would prefer. This debate has been ongoing in the preceding 3 gatherings, which have seen the DoA increasingly violent and militant. The arguments, as can be seen in the 1969 example, are old.

What we want to do with this article is describe the preceding days to the action, the DoA itself, the negative & positive aspects, and we hope to move forward with a more concrete and practical lesson. Thus far most articles on the DoA, such as **Toronto Ecomedia's** "Boneheads bust up Berkeley," have relied on name-calling, value-laden judgments, assumptions, and have been plagued with inaccuracies. All of us have been guilty of these practices for sure, but this only shows lack of real analysis.

The gathering

The S.F. gathering marked a substantial change from past gatherings. Most notably was the increase in numbers--in Toronto 1988 approx. 600, in S.F. about 2,000. This is probably the result of several factors; increased interest in anarchism as a result of past gatherings, propaganda, and that this gathering was in San Francisco, California, in the summer, which inevitably meant "fair weather revolutionaries," people who would attend only because of the "pleasant" location.

During the following days of the gathering, during the daytime sessions and evening socials, some disturbing tendencies were seen; a marked increase in blatantly sexist, patriarchal and homophobic attitudes, and a total lack of responsibility from many people. This was seen in remarks, conversations, trash left in the school where the sessions were held, plates and utensils from meals not cleaned, and other bullshit. While these are always problems in the movement, and sexist attitudes are also a problem for sure, most people in our group agreed this was much more blatant and widespread than usual. Perhaps usually we're more tactful and able to camouflage these problems. The fact that it was so blatant and that many of us had to confront people on these problems, in part can be attributed to the fact that for many, this was their first contact with the movement, misconceptions, and that for many this was to be their "Woodstock." What this shows is the failure of the "counterculture" to develop revolutionary ideas in general, the failure of stressing "fun & partying" over our political content, the amount of crap we as a movement will tolerate, and how young the movement is, in both age & political development.

Throughout the gathering as well, there was a consistent level of activity outside of the program, such as the Quayle demonstration, the Foot Not Bombs actions, an attempted "proletarian shopping" at a supermarket, a leaflet distributed claiming sugar had been added to Shell fuel tanks. The Quayle demo & the Food Not Bombs actions saw confrontations with S.F. riot cops; at the Quayle demo militants blocked the streets, tore a flag from a pole across from the riot cops and burned it. As well, people wore bandannas & ski masks to protect their identity. At the Food Not Bombs distribution of free food to the homeless (an illegal act in S.F.), people also stood their ground to a certain extent, in spite of riot



The "wall of anarchy" at the San Francisco gathering, Summer '89. Photo by Alison Gross.

police arresting people. Perhaps some of us were under the illusion that this would be the case on the DoA.

What was planned, and what was realized

At past gatherings, the DoA was generally a broad attack on capitalist & imperialist targets. In Toronto it was against the U.S. downing of an Iranian Airbus. At all these actions property damage, fighting cops, arrests, etc. were a result. By the 1989 gathering this debate reached a point where it was a real split. People in the S.F. area agreed to do a DoA outside of S.F., while others decided to organize an "alternative" action in S.F.

For this DoA, a long-term, more practical outcome was planned for. With several hundred militants in the area, organizers decided to use the presence of these people to occupy and defend a vacant building in Berkeley, & to transform it into a social space, squatted, controlled by people who would use the space. It would be open for use by the homeless, and would be part of the anti-gentrification struggle in the area.

Organizers attempted to maintain tight security over which building was the target. Plans were made for inside/outside defenders, routes, barricades, communication, etc. However, many practical problems began to arise, because of our lack of practical experience in militant actions; especially poor security (everyone knew the target building--frequently it would be referred to by name in open sessions), many people spoke of the action as if it was a typical "civil disobedience" where we would play our role and the police theirs, quietly arresting us & taking us away to be slapped on the wrist. It was obvious many

people weren't prepared mentally, although they were prepared physically (e.g. the need for disguise, defensive clothing, affinity groups, etc. was discussed).

The awkwardness of days of actions at gatherings was also apparent, in that it wasn't always concentrated on a strong focus. In reality, only S.F.-area activists knew of the gentrification struggle in Berkeley, and so many of us had no real background knowledge.

The action in Berkeley

On the morning of the action we gathered in Oakland to update information and finalize plans. Here we learned that a preliminary occupation group had been busted, that the cops had known which building it was & had begun securing the building with police barricades. In retrospect, this really wasn't a surprise considering the poor security. Despite this, no alternative actions had been planned, and so we decided to go ahead with a demo... perhaps just to spite the police, perhaps to release our emotions which had been extremely tense over the build-up to this day, perhaps because in no way did we want to just go back to our homes, our "tails between our legs," saying "yes you beat us, you are stronger than us, you are invincible."

Gathering in Berkeley in the downtown area, we saw cops all over the area. Eventually our numbers grew to about 350-400. As we started off it became obvious the police hadn't really expected us to go ahead with an action. We went down several streets, pulling out garbage bins into the intersections, spray-painting, chanting slogans; "No Homes, No Peace," "Die Yuppie Scum," "Fire & Flames for the state." At the rear of the march many of us



A scene from the San Francisco Day of Action. Photo from *SlingShot*

linked arms to prevent police attack, to improve communication, and to make us feel stronger. As we walked up & down streets, the idea seemed to confuse the cops. Because of the circumstances, many of us didn't know where we were going. Eventually rallying in People's Park it was suggested we go to the ROTC military offices in the Berkeley university. Windows were smashed, and it seemed we had momentum. Running to the ROTC building, we found 3 riot cops standing behind a barricade. They were pelted with rocks, bottles, cans, yet no one would go past them into the ROTC grounds which we could have easily done. It was here the momentum was lost, & a collective fear of police set in, something that didn't seem present until this point. Suddenly there's panic & people began retreating back, a chain-reaction develops and those of us in the rear retreat thinking there to be many cops moving towards the demo, in reality it was about 10 cops. If we'd had a megaphone this could have been communicated.

So, after being routed by about 13 cops, 400 or so "revolutionaries" went back down the streets towards People's Park. A chance encounter with a coke truck resulted in people attacking it. The driver jumps out and runs, then the window shatters. None of the people we have talked to heard anyone say "get the nigger" as was reported in the mainstream press, nor did anyone make any attempt to assault the driver. The truck was destroyed, all its contents distributed, and rolled into the intersection. Moving into People's Park, we saw riot cops on either end and it was clear people weren't mentally prepared to defend themselves, & many groups began dispersing. The cops charged and then everyone dispersed. Some groups went back down Telegraph Ave. smashing windows and starting fires. About 30 people went back to the transit station we had gathered at and were arrested (afterwards it was learned that for most of these people it had been their first militant demo. One woman had gone on the march telling people not to damage property. After being arrested and abused by police she said she'd be the first to throw stones next time. Other actions had included a TV crew having its camera attacked, expensive cars were trashed, and a computer store had its windows broken. Unfortunately a small second-hand bookstore also had its windows smashed. Nobody we've talked with saw the alleged trashing of the People's Cafe in the park. If it was trashed it was most probably by people who didn't know what it was.

Plans for jail solidarity; refusal of bail, withholding names, etc. didn't work, simply because most of those arrested had chance upon the action and/or not attended preliminary meetings.

Obviously, tactically and politically the action wasn't successful. But if we refuse to learn from it and instead sit and wallow in our defeats & failures, we go nowhere. Because this action wasn't successful does not mean that we are always doomed to failure. Because, if we want to put into practice the slogan, "If you want peace, prepare for the war of liberation"--meaning that our liberation, that peace will only be realized in the destruction of the capitalist structure--then we must begin positively, breaking away from the institutionalized forms of protest we now find ourselves in. An institutionalized level of protest that not only determines our method of protest, but through dictating our actions ultimately dictates our very politics. That the only effective resistance to the increase of Nazi violence comes in fact from anti-racist skinheads, for example, complete with their own dangerous contradictions, speaks poorly for the radical movement in N. America, and attests to our unrealistic and impractical methods.

The "alternative" actions in S.F. proper took away from any kind of revolutionary diversity of resistance. Not because they weren't "violent enough," but because of the spirit they were done in: that is, as a "counter-demo" to those who wanted to go to Berkeley. We are not developing any kind of revolutionary struggle when 400 "revolutionaries" are chased away by 10 cops, or when the "other half" of the movement, that is, those who disagree with

Continued on next page

Seven theses on PLAY

By Paul Z. Simons

1.

Play is desire realized, it is the negation of domination. Play is unmediated activity that does not attempt to produce a specific emotion, indeed, any emotion at all. The result of play may be alternatively orgasm, terror, delight, even death. Play is ambivalent; any one of these conclusions or any multitude of others are possible (there may even be no conclusive result). Yet, each eventuality in its own context is correct because none are specifically elicited except in the content of the play-activity that produces it.

2.

In pre-agricultural societies play was the common denominator of all activity, in much the same way that the gift was the characteristic mode of exchange. For the primitive, play was the activity that not only defined tribal and familial relationships, it also provided food, clothing and shelter. In the pre-agricultural era of abundance, the outcome of any given hunt was irrelevant. Necessity (and surplus) meant nothing in such societies, consequently food-generating activities were not driven by the alternative of starvation, rather they existed simply as diversion, play. Further, play was essential to the stability of pre-agricultural societies because of its tendency to exclude coercion, language, even time. The death of play was the triumph of civilization, of domination.

3.

Capital has sought to abolish play and replace it with leisure-time; a void that must be filled as opposed to fulfillment that negates the void. Leisure-time is capital's valorization of play, another mediation in the infinite maelstrom of mediations. In capital's dual role of pimp and prostitute it not only creates leisure-time, it produces commodities and spectacles with which to fill it. Such valorization demands passive, stupefied participation (the negation of play) and seeks to elicit a single response, enjoyment. Which is, of course, the pay-off for time/money investment in a specific commodity/spectacle. As a result, play (like language) reverts to its magic form and becomes something dangerous, un-



Photo by Mikell Zhan

manageable, ultimately lethal; and capital in order to discourage play portrays it as such.

4.

Capital, even in its current manifestation of real domination, has been unable to eradicate play. The "discovery" of play occurred repeatedly in this century, occasionally (though not exclusively) in the realm of the avant-garde. Alfred Jarry in the Ubu plays and his system of pataphysics (the science of imaginary solutions) definitively incinerated the continuum of retrograde representational form. In doing so he reintroduced play not as an anaesthetic, but as a wrecking ball. Dada continued the assault, but with the exception of the Berlin variant (and its most impressive non-member, Schwitters) the notion of play became ritualized, dead. The final recuperation of the avant-garde, achieved via the reaction of surrealism and the concomitant resurrection of the representational form, eliminated play as an element of rejection until the re-emergence of utopian currents after World War II. A number of post-war cultural movements, most notably Lettrisme, the Situationist International, Mail Art and Neoism all incorporated play into their experimentation. Each movement, however, failed to realize the revolutionary implications of play and in doing so allowed it once again to become formalized, rigid and as such became recuperated as media-

ted activity.

5.

Play has become an integral part of revolutionary activity. Even Lenin, the idiot father of the authoritarian left, could (correctly) describe the Paris Commune 1871 as a "festival of the oppressed," though he (like Marx) arrived at an erroneous conclusion concerning the failure of the uprising. There are a plethora of examples of the inclusion of play in the activity of the Communards, particularly of play in its destructive aspect. This is not surprising, given the Commune's lack of resources, military contingencies and the fact that the entire rebellion lasted some 72 days. Still, the toppling of the column at the Place Vendôme (a universally hated symbol of the Napoleonic victories), as well as the attempt by a few of the more extreme Communards to put Notre Dame to the torch can hardly be interpreted as anything but play. Such manifestations also crept into the behavior of individual Communards. Recall the story of the young rebel who confronted a suspect bourgeois on the street. The nervous capitalist protested that he had never had anything to do with politics, to which the Commune replied, "That's precisely why I'm going to kill you." Though the story ends here in historical accounts, it is not hard to imagine the young rebel flashing a fiendish grin at the shaken bourgeois and then walking off to take his place on the barricades...bon chance, Citoyen!

6.

Modern revolutionary eruptions have also exhibited certain elements of play. The May-July events of 1968 in France immediately bring to mind the joyful, indignant posters produced by the students of the insurgent Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Further, through the blood, tear-gas and concussion grenades of the nights of barricade fighting (May 6-11th), there emerged numerous examples of play. Most observers concur on this point, Prialux and Ungar describe the defiant students as "one big frantic family;" even the partisan Trotskyite account by Seale and McConville includes an anecdote about the left-bank café, Le Luxembourg. During one night of rioting the café had been invaded and transformed into a makeshift battlefield, after the insurgents and police moved off the manager was directed by a prefect to close his establishment, to which he replied, "tonight Le Luxembourg will not close its doors; it has none left!" More recently, during the suppression of Solidarity in Poland, a handful of militants produced a mask with a billed officers cap and dark glasses that affected a likeness in the wearer to General Jaruzelski. The twist was that the mask was designed to fit dogs. Evidently, during the last crackdown on Solidarity the police would spend their days breaking up demonstrations and nights chasing stray canines who were, for all intents and purposes, impersonating the General Secretary of the Communist Party.

7.

The very existence of "theses" that attempt to define and illuminate historical examples of play stand in some sad way as a testament to the alienation from the activity they seek to describe. The terminal malaise that has characterized revolutionary theory and culture for at least the past two decades must be interpreted as the triumph of formalized technique, the crushing baggage of intellectualism. Even the ultra-left communist and anarchist movements seem condemned to stumble the same squalid path traversed by social democracy almost a century ago. The "revolutionary" belief that the "liberation" of women, ethnic minorities, gays and lesbians or the Third World will take a significantly different form than the "liberation" of the working class via better wages, open employment policies and "benefits" exists as an iron-clad example of the pervasive disintegrative consciousness of the left. Revolutionary consciousness, on the other hand, seems to currently reside in the refusal of all dominative forms, the permanent contestation of every assumption; in a word, **play**. If the new society gestates in the womb of the old, then its first duty is quite obviously matricide.

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
COME OUT TO PLAY!**

Interview with an autonomist

Continued from previous page

militant actions, call people "boneheads," perhaps we should leave those kinds of descriptions for those we're fighting against?

"...and we all thought in the cell-block that night that simply not to fear fighting is a kind of winning." (Fire, Jan. 30, 1970)

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THE POPULATION MYTH

by Murray Bookchin

The "population problem" has a Phoenix-like existence: it rises from the ashes at least every generation and sometimes every decade or so. The prophecies are usually the same--namely, that human beings are populating the earth in "unprecedented" and "devouring" its resources like a locust plague.

In the days of the Industrial Revolution, Thomas Malthus, a craven English parson, formulated his notorious "law of population" which asserts that while food supplies expand only arithmetically, population soars geometrically. Only by wars, famines, and disease (Malthus essentially argued) can a "balance" be struck between population and food supplies. Malthus did not mean this to be an argument to foster human welfare; it was an unfeeling justification for the inhuman miseries inflicted on the mass of English people by land-grabbing aristocrats and exploitative "industrialists." True to the mean-spirited atmosphere of the times, Malthus opposed attempts to alleviate poverty because they would remove the limits imposed on "population growth" by prolonging the lives of the poor.

Malthus' "law" entered into Darwin's explanation of evolution and re-emerged from biology as "social-Darwinism." Propounded vigorously in the U.S. and England a generation later, this theory reduced society to a "jungle," in effect, in which a "law of survival of the fittest" justified the wanton plundering of the world by the wealthy or the "fittest," while the laboring classes, dispossessed farmers, and Third World "savages" were reduced to penury, presumably because they were "unfit" to survive. The arrogance of bankers, industrialists, and colonialists in the "Gilded Age" at the turn of the century who dined on lavish dishes, while starved bodies were collected regularly in the city streets of the Western world--all testified to a harsh class system that invoked "natural law" to justify the opulence enjoyed by the ruling few and the hunger suffered by the ruled many.

Barely a generation later, Malthusianism acquired an explicitly racist character. During the early twenties, when "Anglo-Saxon" racism peaked in the U.S. against "darker" peoples like Italians, Jews, and so-called "Eastern Europeans," the notion of "biological inferiority" led to explicitly exclusionary immigration laws that favored "Northern Europeans" over other, presumably "subhuman" peoples. Malthusianism, now prefixed with a "neo" to render it more contemporary, thoroughly per-

meated this legislation. Population in the U.S. had to be "controlled" and American "cultural" (read: racial) purity had to be rescued--be it from the "Yellow Peril" of Asia or the "Dark Peril" of the Latin and Semitic worlds.

Nazism did not have to invent its racial imagery of sturdy "Aryans" who are beleaguered by "subhuman" dark people, particularly Jews. Hitler saw himself as the protector of a "Northern European culture" from "Hebraic superstitions," to use the juicy language of a contemporary well-know Arizona writer--a "cultural" issue that was riddled by fascist sociobiology. From Hitler's "Northern European" viewpoint, Europe was "overpopulated" and the continent's ethnic groups had to be sifted out according to their racial background. Hence the gas chambers and crematoriums of Auschwitz, the execution squads that followed the German army into Russia in the summer of 1941, and the systematic and mechanized slaughter of millions in a span of three or four years.

The Phoenix rises again

One would have thought that the Second World War and the ugly traditions that fed into it might have created a deeper sense of humanity and a more sensitive regard for life--non-human as well as human.

Judging from the way the "population problem" has surfaced again, however, we seem even more brutalized than ever. By the late 1940s, before the wartime dead had fully decayed, the "neo-Malthusians" were back at work--this time over the use of newly developed pesticides for eradicating malaria and antibiotics to control killing infections in the Third World. Even eminent biologists like William Vogt entered the fray with books and articles, directing their attacks at modern medicine for preserving human life and predicting famines in Britain between 1948 and 1978 and imminent famine in Germany and Japan. The debate, which often took an ugly turn, was overshadowed by the Korean War and the blandly optimistic Eisenhower era, followed by the stormy sixties period with its message of idealism, public service, and, if you please, "humanism." But the decade barely came to a close when neo-Malthusianism surfaced again--this time with grim books that warned of a "population bomb" and advocated an "ethics" of "triage" in which the nations that were recommended for U.S. aid seemed uncannily to fall on the American side

of the "Cold War," irrespective of their population growth-rates.

Viewed from a distance of two decades later, the predictions made by many neo-Malthusians seem almost insanely ridiculous. We were warned, often in the mass media, that by the 1980s, for example, artificial islands in the oceans would be needed to accommodate the growing population densities on the continents. Our oil supplies, we were told with supreme certainty, would be completely depleted by the end of the century. Wars between starving peoples would ravage the planet, each nation seeking to plunder the hidden food stores of the others. By the late seventies, this "debate" took a welcome breather--but it has returned again in full bloom in the biological verbiage of ecology. Given the hysteria and the exaggerated "predictions" of earlier such "debates," the tone today is a little calmer. But in some respects it is even more sinister. We have not been forced to turn our oceans into real estate, nor have we run out of oil, food, material resources--or neo-Malthusian prophets. But we are acquiring certain bad intellectual habits and we are being rendered more gullible by a new kind of religiosity that goes under the name of "spirituality" with a new-styled paganism and primitivism.

First of all, we are thinking more quantitatively than qualitatively--all talk about "wholeness," "oneness," and "interconnectedness" to the contrary notwithstanding. For example, when we are told that the "population issue" is merely a "matter of numbers," as one Zero Population Growth writer put it, then the vast complexity of population growth and diminution is reduced to a mere numbers game, like the fluctuations of Dow stock-market averages. Human beings, turned into digits, can thus be equated to fruitflies and their numbers narrowly correlated with food supply. This is "following the Dow" with a vengeance. Social research, as distinguished from the Voodoo ecology that passes under the name of "deep ecology" these days, reveals that human beings are highly social beings, not simply a species of mammals. Their behavior is profoundly conditioned by their social status, as people who belong to a particular gender, hierarchy, class group, ethnic tradition, community, historical era, or adhere to a variety of ideologies. They also have at their disposal powerful technologies, material resources, science, and a naturally endowed capacity for conceptual thought that provides them with a flexi-

bility that few, if any, nonhuman beings possess, not to speak of evolving institutions and capacities for systematic group cooperation. Nothing, here, is more illusory than to "follow the Dow." The bad intellectual habits of thinking out demographic--or even "resource"--issues in a linear, asocial, and ahistorical manner tends to enter into all ecological problems, thanks very much to the neo-Malthusians and to a "biocentrism" that equates people to nonhuman life-forms.

Secondly, by reducing us to studies of line graphs, bar graphs, and statistical tables, the neo-Malthusians literally freeze reality as it is. Their numerical extrapolations do not construct any reality that is new; they merely extend, statistic by statistic, what is basically old and given. They are "futurists" in the most shallow sense of the word, not "utopians" in the best sense. We are taught to accept society, behavior, and values as they are, not as they should be or even could be. This procedure places us under the tyranny of the status quo and divests us of any ability to think about radically changing the world. I have encountered very few books or articles written by neo-Malthusians that question whether we should live under any kind of money economy at all, any statist system of society, or be guided by profit-oriented behavior. There are books and articles aplenty that explain "how to" become a "morally responsible" banker, entrepreneur, landowner, "developer," or, for all I know, arms merchant. But whether the whole system called capitalism (forgive me!), be it corporate in the west or bureaucratic in the east, must be abandoned if we are to achieve an ecological society is rarely discussed. Thousands may rally around "Earth First!"'s idiotic slogan--"Back to the Pleistocene!"--but few, if they are conditioned by neo-Malthusian thinking, will rally around the cry of the Left Greens--"Forward to an Ecological Society!"

Lastly, neo-Malthusian thinking is the most backward in thinking out the implications of its demands. If we are concerned, today, and rightly so, about registering AIDS victims, what are the totalitarian consequences about creating a Bureau of Population Control, as some Zero Population Growth wits suggested in the early 1970s? Imagine what consequences would follow from increasing the state's power over reproduction? Indeed, what areas of personal life would not be invaded by slowly enlarging the state's authority over our most intimate kinds of human relations?

Yet such demands in one form or another have been raised by neo-Malthusians on grounds that hardly require the mental level to examine the Statistical Abstract of the United States.

The Social Roots of Hunger

This arithmetic mentality which disregards the social context of demographics is incredibly short-sighted. Once we accept without any reflection or criticism that we live in a "grow-or-die" capitalistic society in which accumulation is literally a law of economic survival and competition is the motor of "progress," anything we have to say about population is basically meaningless. The biosphere will eventually be destroyed whether five billion or fifty million live on the planet. Competing firms in a "dog-eat-dog" market must outproduce each other if they are to remain in existence. They must plunder the soil, remove the earth's forests, kill off its wildlife, pollute its air and waterways--not because their intentions are necessarily bad, although they usually are--hence the absurdity of the spiritualistic pablum in which Americans are currently immersed--but because they must simply survive. Only a radical restructuring of society as a whole, including its anti-ecological sensibilities, can remove this all-commanding social compulsion--not rituals, yoga, or encounter groups, valuable as some of these practices may be (including "improving" our earning capacity and "power" to command).

But the most sinister feature about neo-Malthusianism is the extent to which it actively deflects us from dealing with the social origins of our ecological problems--indeed, the extent to which it places the blame for them on the victims of hunger rather than those who victimize them. Presumably, if there is a "population problem" and famine in Africa, it is the ordinary people who are to blame for having too many children or insisting on living too long--an argument advanced by Malthus nearly two centuries ago with respect to England's poor. The viewpoint not only justifies privilege; it fosters brutalization and degrades the neo-Malthusians even more than it degrades the victims of privilege.

And frankly--they often lie. Consider the issue of population and food supply in terms of mere numbers and we step on a wild merry-go-round that does not support neo-Malthusian predictions of a decade ago, much less a generation ago. Such typically neo-Malthusian stunts as determining the "per capita consumption" of steel, oil, paper, chemicals, and the like of a nation by dividing the total tonnage of the latter by the national population, such that every man, woman and child is said to "consume" a resultant quantity, gives us a picture that is blatantly false and functions as a sheer apologia for the upper classes. The steel that goes into a battleship, the oil that is used to fuel a tank, and the paper that is covered by ads hardly depicts the human consumption of materials. Rather, it is stuff consumed by all the Pentagons of the world that help keep a "grow-or-die" economy in operation--goods, I may add, whose function is to destroy and



A typical example of "overpopulation" as it is interpreted by neo-Malthusians. The upper class families which can afford to live on large estates are never pointed to as being a large part of the environmental problem--instead their way of life almost seems to represent environmental "balance" from this incredibly narrow point of view. Photo from the literature of Population-Environment Balance.

whose destiny is to be destroyed. The shower of such "data" that descends upon us by neo-Malthusian writers is worse than obscurantist; it is vicious. The same goes for the shopping malls that are constructed that dump their toxic "consumer goods" on us and the costly highways that converge upon them. To ignore the fact that we are the victims of a vast, completely entrapping social order which only a few can either control or escape from, is to literally deaden the political insight of ordinary people--whose "wants," of course, are always blamed for every dislocation in our ecological dislocations.

On the demographic merry-go-round, the actual facts advanced by many neo-Malthusians are no less misleading. In the West, particularly in countries like Germany which the neo-Malthusian prophets of the late 1940s warned would soar in population well beyond food supplies, birth rates have fallen beyond the national replacement rate. This is true of Denmark, Austria, Hungary, indeed, much of Europe generally, including Catholic Italy and Ireland--where traditions that foster the emergence of large, predominantly male families by which the high birth rates of India and China were explained, are not frozen in stone. The U.S., which the more hysterical neo-Malthusians of some two decades ago predicted would be obliged to live on oceanic rafts, is approaching zero population growth and, by now, it may be lower.

Nor is food supply lagging behind overall population growth. Cereal production rose by 12 percent since 1975, making it possible recently for even Bangladesh to drastically reduce its grain imports. The markets of western

Asia are being flooded by Chinese corn. Even "barren" Saudi Arabia is selling off its accumulations of wheat, and, in Finland, farmers are so overloaded with surplus wheat that they are turning it into mink fodder and glue. India, the so-called "worst case example," tripled its production of grain between 1950 and 1984. Its greatest problem at present is not population growth but transportation from grain-surplus areas to grain-shortage ones--a major source of many Indian famines in the past.

Although Lester R. Brown of Worldwatch Institute divides the world "into countries where population growth is slow or nonexistent and where living conditions are improving, and those where population growth is rapid and living conditions are deteriorating or in imminent danger of doing so," one might easily conclude by the mere juxtaposition of Brown's phrases that declining living conditions are due solely to increasing population. Not so--if one closely looks at even Brown's data as well as other sources. How much of the disparity between population growth and bad living conditions is due in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, for example, largely to patterns of land ownership? In southern Asia, some 30 million rural households own no land or very little, a figure that represents 40 percent of nearly all rural households in the subcontinent. Similar figures are emerging from African data and, very disastrously, Latin America. Land distribution is now so lopsided in the Third World in favor of commercial farming and a handful of elite landowners that one can no longer talk of a "population problem" without relating it to a class and social problem.

It would take several volumes to untangle the mixed threads that intertwine hunger with landownership, material improvements with declining population growth, technology with food production, the fragility of familial customs with the needs of women to achieve full personhood, internal civil wars (often financed by western imperialists) with famines--and the role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund with patterns of food cultivation. Westerners have only recently gained a small glimpse of the role of the IMF and World Bank in producing a terrible famine in the Sudan by obliging the country to shift from the cultivation of food in areas of rich soil to the cultivation of cotton.

This much must be emphasized: if the "population issue" is indeed the "litmus test" of one's ecological outlook, as the top honcho of "Earth First!", David Foreman, has declared, then it is a wildly scrambled bundle of social threads, not a Voodoo ecology talisman. Greens, ecologically oriented people, and radicals of all kinds will have to unravel this bundle with an acute sense of the social, not by playing a numbers game with human life and clouding up that social sense with thoroughly unreliable statistical extrapolations and apologetics for corporate interests.

Nor can human beings be reduced to mere digits by neo-Malthusian advocates without reducing the world of life to digits--at least without replacing a decent regard for life, including human life, with a new inhuman form of eco-brutalism.

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PROPAGANDA

American-style

From an interview with
Noam Chomsky

Pointing out the massive amounts of propaganda spewed by governments and institutions around the world, observers have called our era the age of Orwell. But the fact is that Orwell was a latecomer on the scene. As early as World War I, American historians offered themselves to President Woodrow Wilson to carry out a task they called "historical engineering," by which they meant designing the facts of history so that they would serve state policy. In this instance, the U.S. government wanted to silence opposition to the war. This represents a version of Orwell's *1984*, even before Orwell was writing.

In 1921 the famous American journalist Walter Lippmann said that the art of democracy requires what he called the "manufacture of consent." This phrase is an Orwellian euphemism for thought control. The idea is that in a state such as the U.S. where the government can't control the people by force, it had better control what they think.

The Soviet Union is at the opposite end of the spectrum from us in its domestic freedoms. It's essentially a country run by the bludgeon. It's very easy to determine what propaganda is in the U.S.S.R.: what the state produces is propaganda.

That's the kind of thing that Orwell described in *1984* (not a very good book in my opinion). *1984* is so popular because it's trivial and because it attacks our enemies. If Orwell had dealt with a different problem--ourselves--his book wouldn't have been popular. In fact, it probably wouldn't have been published.

In totalitarian societies where there's a Ministry of Truth, propaganda doesn't really try to control your thoughts. It just gives you the party line. It says, "Here's the official doctrine; don't disobey and you won't get in trouble. What you think is not of great importance to anyone. If you get out of line we'll do something to you because we have force."

Democratic societies can't work like that, because the state is much more limited in its capacity to control behavior by force. Since the voice of the people is allowed to speak out, those in power better control what that voice says--in other words, control what people think.

One of the ways to do this is to create political debate that appears to embrace many opinions, but actually stays within very narrow margins. You have to make sure that both sides in the debate accept certain assumptions--and that those assumptions are the basis of the propaganda system. As long as everyone accepts the propaganda system, then debate is permissible.

The Vietnam War is a classic example of America's propaganda system. In the mainstream media--the *New York Times*, CBS, and so on--there was a lively debate about the war. It was between people called "doves" and people called "hawks." The hawks said, "If we keep at it we can win." The doves said, "Even if we keep at it we probably can't win, and besides it would probably be too costly for us, and besides, maybe we are killing too many people."

Both sides agreed on one thing: We had a right to carry out aggression against South Vietnam. Doves and hawks alike refused to admit that aggression was taking place. They both called our military presence in Southeast Asia the defense of South Vietnam, substituting "defense" for "aggression" in the standard Orwellian manner. In reality, we were attacking South Vietnam just as surely as the Soviets later attacked Afghanistan.

Consider the following facts. In 1962 the U.S. Air Force began direct attacks against the rural population of South Vietnam with heavy bombing and defoliation. It was part of a program intended to drive millions of people into detention camps where, surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, they would be "protected" from the guerrillas they were supporting--the "Viet Cong," the southern branch of the former anti-French resistance (the Vietminh). This is what our government calls aggression or invasion when conducted by some official enemy. The Saigon government had no legitimacy and little popular support, and its leadership was regularly overthrown in U.S.-backed coups when it was feared that they might arrange a settlement with the Viet Cong. Some 70,000 "Viet Cong" had already been killed in a U.S.-directed terror campaign before the outright U.S. invasion took place in 1962.

Like the Soviets in Afghanistan, we tried to establish a government in Saigon to invite us in. We had to overthrow regime after regime in that effort. Finally we simply invaded outright. That is plain, simple aggression. But anyone in the U.S. who thought that our policies in Vietnam were wrong in principle was not admitted to the discussion about the war. The debate was essen-

tially over tactics.

Even at the peak of opposition to the U.S. war, only a minuscule portion of the intellectuals opposed the war out of principle--on the grounds that aggression is wrong. Most intellectuals came to oppose it--well after leading business circles did--on the "pragmatic" grounds that the costs were too high.

Strikingly omitted from the debate was the view that the U.S. could have won, but that it would have been wrong to allow such military aggression to succeed. This was the position of the authentic peace movement but it was seldom heard in the mainstream media.

If you pick up a book on American history and look at the Vietnam War, there is no such event as the American attack on South Vietnam. For the past 22 years, I have searched in vain for even a single reference in mainstream journalism or scholarship to an "American invasion of South Vietnam" or American "aggression" in South Vietnam. In the American doctrinal system, there is no such event. It's out of history, down Orwell's memory hole.

If the U.S. were a totalitarian state, the Ministry of Truth would simply have said, "It's right for us to go into Vietnam. Don't argue with it." People would have recognized that as the propaganda system, and they would have gone on thinking whatever they wanted. They could have plainly seen that we were attacking Vietnam, just as we can see that the Soviets are attacking Afghanistan.

People are much freer in the U.S., they are allowed to express themselves. That's why it's necessary for those in power to control everyone's thought, to try to make it appear as if the only issues in matters such as U.S. intervention in Vietnam are tactical: Can we get away with it? There's no discussion of right or wrong.

During the Vietnam War, the U.S. propaganda system did its job partially but not entirely. Among educated people it worked very well. Studies show that among the more educated parts of the population, the government's propaganda about the war is now accepted unquestioningly.

One reason that propaganda often works better on the educated than on the uneducated is that educated people read more, so they receive more propaganda. Another is that they have jobs in management, media, and academia and therefore work in some capacity as agents of the propaganda system--and they believe what the system expects them to believe. By and large, they're part of the privileged elite, and have the interests and perceptions of those in

power.

On the other hand, the government had problems in controlling the opinions of the general population. According to some of the latest polls, over 70 percent of Americans still thought the war was, to quote the Gallup Poll, "fundamentally wrong and immoral, not a mistake."

Due to widespread opposition to the Vietnam War, the propaganda system lost its grip on the beliefs of many Americans. They grew skeptical about what they were told. In this case there's even a name for the erosion of belief. It's called the "Vietnam Syndrome," a grave disease in the eyes of America's elites because people understand too much.

Let me give one more example of the powerful propaganda system at work in the U.S.--the congressional vote on contra aid in March 1986. For the three months prior to the vote, the administration was heating up the political atmosphere, trying to reverse the congressional restrictions on aid to the terrorist army that's attacking Nicaragua.

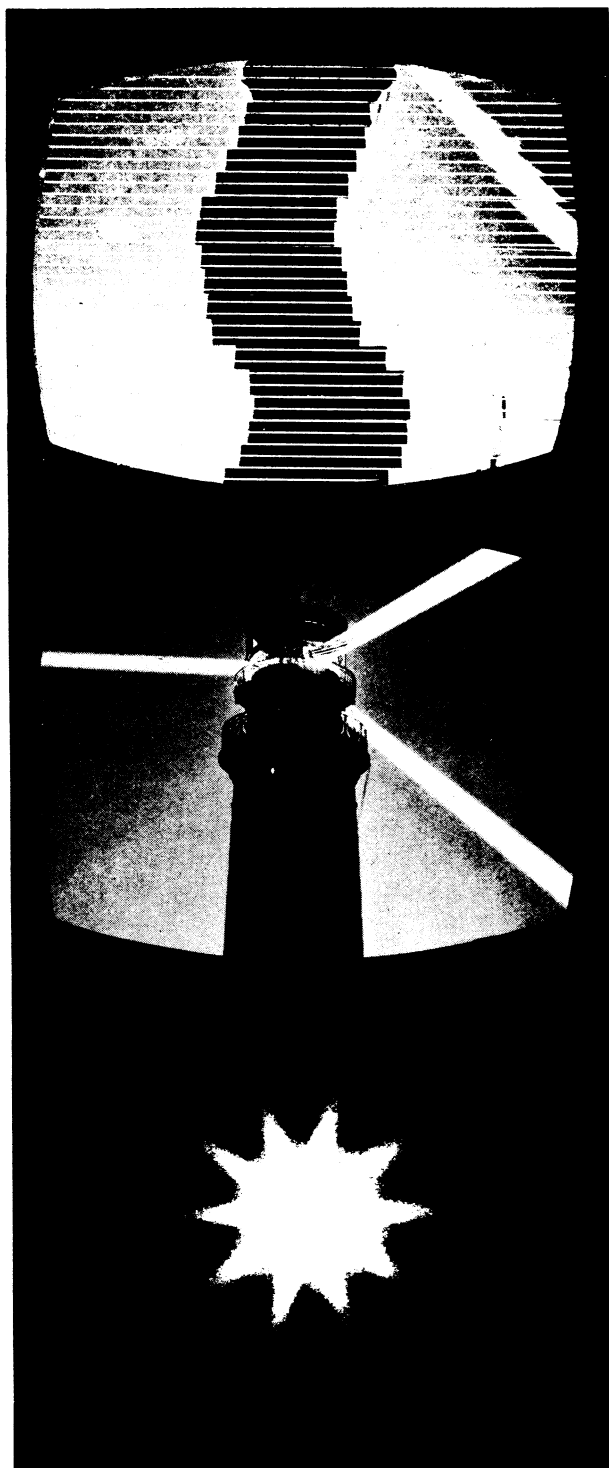
I was interested in how the media was going to respond to the administration campaign for the contras. So I studied two national newspapers, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. In January, February, and March, I went through every one of their editorials, opinion pieces, and the columns written by their own columnists. There were 85 pieces. Of these, all were anti-Sandinista. On that issue, no discussion was tolerable.

There are two striking facts about the Sandinista government, as compared with our allies in Central America--Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. One is that the Sandinista government doesn't slaughter its population. That's a well-recognized fact. Second, Nicaragua is the only one of those countries in which the government has tried to direct social services to the poor. This too is not a matter of debate; it is conceded on all sides to be true.

On the other hand, our allies Guatemala and El Salvador are among the world's worst terrorist states. So far in the 1980s they have slaughtered over 150,000 of their own citizens, with U.S. support. These nations do little for their populations except torture, terrorize and kill them.

Honduras is a little different. In Honduras there's a government of the rich that robs the poor. It doesn't kill on the scale of El Salvador or Guatemala, but a large part of the population is starving to death.

So in examining the 85 editorials, I also looked for those two facts about Nicaragua. The fact that the Sandinistas are radically different from our Central American allies in that they don't slaughter their population was not mentioned once. That they have carried out social reforms for the poor was referred to in two phrases, both buried. Two phrases in 85 columns on one crucial issue, zero phrases in 85 columns on another.



That's really remarkable control over thought on a highly debated issue. After that I went through all the editorials on El Salvador and Nicaragua in the *New York Times* from 1980 to the present; it's essentially the same story.

Nicaragua, a country under attack by the regional superpower, did on October 15, 1985, what we did in Hawaii during World War II: instituted a state of siege. There was a huge uproar in the mainstream American press--editorials, denunciations, claims that the Sandinistas are totalitarian Stalinist monsters, and so on.

Two days after that, on October 17, El Salvador renewed its state of siege. Instituted in March 1980 and renewed monthly afterwards, El Salvador's state of siege was far more harsh than Nicaragua's. It blocked freedom of expression, freedom of movement, and virtually all civil rights. It was the framework within which the U.S.-trained and organized army has carried out torture and slaughter.

The *New York Times* considered the Nicaraguan state of siege a great atrocity. The Salvadoran state of siege,

far harsher in its measures and its application, was never mentioned in 160 *New York Times* editorials on Nicaragua and El Salvador, up until mid-1986 [the time of this interview].

We are often told the country is a budding democracy, so it can't possibly be having a state of siege. According to news reports on El Salvador, Duarte is heading a moderate centrist government under attack by terrorists of the left and of the right. This is complete nonsense. Every human rights investigation, even the U.S. government in private, concedes that terrorism is being carried out by the Salvadoran government itself. The death squads are the security forces. Duarte is simply a front for terrorists. But that is seldom said publicly.

All of this falls under Walter Lippmann's notion of "the manufacture of consent." Democracy permits the voice of the people to be heard, and it is the task of the intellectual to ensure that this voice endorses what leaders perceive to be the right course. Propaganda is to democracy what violence is the totalitarianism. The techniques have been honed to a high art in the U.S.

and elsewhere, far beyond anything that Orwell dreamed of. The device of feigned dissent (as practiced by the Vietnamese "doves," who criticized war on the grounds of effectiveness and not principle) is one of the more subtle means, though simple lying and suppressing fact and other crude techniques are also highly effective.

For those who stubbornly seek freedom around the world, there can be no more urgent task than to come to understand the mechanisms and practices of indoctrination. These are easy to perceive in the totalitarian societies, much less so in the propaganda system to which we are subjected and in which all too often we serve as willing or unwitting instruments.

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TV LISTING

CHANNEL 2:15 PM PROGRAMS

0007 TELE-TELEPHONE
0092 INTERPLANETARY INTERFACE/
SATURNIAN MOONS : LIVE, FROM
THE HOURLY FLY-BY
0148 LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/
AUTHORS A - L : LAST NAME
FIRST, REMEMBER!

0303 SWEET SADNESS SINGALONG :
PREMIERE! STARRING THE VERY
REV. HORST FLETCHER, RICH
BARITONE

0457 TELE-SALES
(ENTER COMMODITY #)

0679 BASEBALL/BOSTON RED SOX
VS. BOISE GEYSERS, FROM
FENWAY PARK

NY2 DAT RP: S M/T/R: 10

The great American high;

CONTRADICTIONS of cocaine capitalism

by Jefferson Morley

It was in July 1969 that President Richard Nixon called for a "new urgency and concerted national policy" in the fight against drugs. But for the Vietnam War, drugs might then have been regarded as a national crisis. Two decades later we have a fresh urgency, George Bush's newly announced national strategy, and no colonial war to distract us. There is civil strife in Colombia and vague talk of having U.S. troops put the entrepreneurs of Medellin and Cali in their place. There is a drug czar, our home-grown version of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who actually said earlier this summer, "A massive wave of arrests is a top priority of the war on drugs." And three cocaine kingpins now rank among the planet's wealthiest human beings. Twenty years of war on drugs have coincided with the emergence of a vast and sometimes frightening international cocaine economy.

Drug czar William Bennett and President Bush propose abolishing the cocaine economy altogether. Never known for their antipathy to capitalism, they nonetheless call for the annihilation of one of its highest-growth sectors, the drug business. Bennett and Bush aspire to rid us once and for all of this allegedly immoral marketplace and its amoral entrepreneurs. Or do they?

The history of the cocaine economy is not reassuring. Its growth can be divided into three periods. In each, leading drug enforcers have, wittingly or unwittingly, reached forms of de facto accommodation with leading drug dealers.

The first period witnessed the birth of the cocaine economy, between 1969 and 1974; during that time, new state regulation gave decided commercial advantage to cocaine smugglers. The second period was the cocaine boom, which lasted from 1975 through 1982; in it, the executive branch launched a serious, coordinated, high-level effort to prosecute drug bankers--and then abandoned it. The third was the consolidation period, which began in 1983 and continues to this day; the burden of the war on drugs has been shifted onto the producing nations, onto the crack economy and onto the casual users--and away from the North American elite of the trade. A fourth period may yet be defined by Bennett and Bush. In foreign policy, the President and the drug czar want expanded powers to attack the insurgent capitalists at home in Latin America. In domestic policy, they want expanded powers to discourage consumption and petty entrepreneurship in drugs. The cocaine economy has become a central part of American political culture.



Photo from *Stingshot* (700 Eshleman Hall, Berkeley, CA. 94720).

Pioneers of Reaganism

Nixon's war on drugs hastened the professionalization of the drug commerce. Between 1969 and 1974, surveillance of the Mexican border was increased and Mexican marijuana fields were sprayed with paraquat, a herbicide. Amateur smugglers were driven out of the drug business. "In their stead more professional groups flourished," observes sociologist Patricia Adler of the University of Colorado at Boulder, who wrote *Wheeling and Dealing*, a study of a fluid circle of successful drug entrepreneurs in southern California. These professional groups were made up of "people who could rise to the new sophistication demanded by the law enforcement challenge and who could afford the technology and equipment capable of avoiding detection."

By treating marijuana and cocaine as equally dangerous, Nixon's drug war stimulated the cocaine economy. Cocaine powder is more easily transported and concealed than bulk marijuana, insuring both less risk and higher profit. Undifferentiated prohibition of cocaine and marijuana gave a competitive advantage to the more compact--and physiologically hazardous--drug. Between 1974 and 1980 Adler saw the transformation of San Diego from "a major wholesale marijuana market into a distribution center for the cocaine trade." Dozens of other North American cities underwent a similar transformation in the same period.

A new capitalist elite was taking

shape at the top of the drug economy: The producers and exporters were increasingly Colombian, while Americans in the top echelon assumed roles as domestic wholesalers, bankers, pilots and money launderers.

The market advantages of cocaine did not, of course, create the demand for the drug that drove the boom of the late 1970s. Demand probably created supply more than vice versa. Cocaine, a brisk euphoriant, was the ideal drug for millions of people coping with rapid economic change. With the first oil shock of 1973, the fortunes of the poor and the middle class began to erode. Manufacturing industries were giving way to service and information firms, especially in the cities. "The metaphoric associations of cocaine are those most in line with an acceptance of economic and cultural life under capitalism," one critic of the Miami vice noted, for "no other drug works as well: Heroin becomes too debilitating...while marijuana has too many passive associations--one cannot be 'laid back' in the 'fast lane.'" Cocaine was the drug for those who were getting ahead--and for those who could only dream of getting ahead.

The drug counterculture of the 1960s, with its emphasis on LSD and marijuana, had been eclipsed. The cocaine entrepreneurs stood at the center of the new culture of pleasurable consumption. They had "abandoned their predominantly instrumental, goal-seeking, controlled, and future-oriented behavior" for a more pleasure-oriented, sexually permissive livelihood, according

to Adler. In this respect the marketers of cocaine are heirs to the drug counterculture of the 1960s. But if upwardly mobile drug entrepreneurs shared countercultural impulses, they were also fully imbued with the values of consumer capitalism. "Rather than seeking out antimaterialist, sixties style communes," Adler notes, "these people retained (even intensified) the value of materialism which pervades our society." They were in her analysis, irrational materialists, hedonists addicted to profit and recklessness.

In retrospect, they look like nothing so much as the pioneers of Reaganism.

Operation Greenback

The cocaine boom of the late 1970s generated a tremendous cash bonanza for the rising elite of North American drug entrepreneurs. Bankers were needed in Miami to handle the cash, and there was little difficulty enlisting them.

The best available index of the dollar volume of the drug trade is the statistic on currency flow kept by the Federal Reserve Board. Every bank turns its cash deposits over to the local Federal Reserve branch office. A currency surplus results when all the banks in a Federal Reserve district receive more cash than they pay out. In most areas of the country, deposits and payouts are roughly balanced. In Florida in the late 1970s, bankers were taking in cash by the duffel bag from you know who. The currency surplus in Florida was \$576 million in 1970; by 1976 it had almost tripled, to \$1.5 billion.

Officials in the enforcement section of the Treasury Department "detected the surplus and connected it to the large scale laundering of drug receipts" in 1976, according to a high-level Treasury Department brief obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. "Detailed information was brought to the attention of DEA and the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice," the report says. Despite the "detailed" evidence, no concerted action was taken against drug bankers between 1976 and 1979.

Only after *Parade* magazine and "60 minutes" did exposes on respectable drug profiteers in 1979 did the feds finally launch Operation Greenback. That interagency task force, which consisted of representatives from the Federal Reserve, the Treasury Department and the Justice Department, was the federal government's first (and some would say last) serious national effort to curb drug banking.

Operation Greenback enjoyed some success in its early years, but its overall failure is instructive. It was taking on an

enormous challenge, both practically and politically. A 1982 money-laundering investigation disclosed that one suburban branch office of Capital Bank in Miami had accepted \$242 million in drug-tainted cash in less than eighteen months. If the cash surplus is a rough indicator of the volume of the drug trade, that was something like 5 percent of the cash in the flourishing Florida drug trade—a big cut, to be sure. But it would have taken at least thirty comparable money-laundering operations—and as many bankers—to generate the whole cash surplus in the state of Florida. In fact, when analysis from Operation Greenback began examining financial reports of Miami banks for telltale signs of money laundering, they found no less than twenty-four banks that merited closer scrutiny.

Within two years Operation Greenback was in deep trouble. "There are problems in South Florida that are unhealthy and could be fatal to the Project," one Treasury Department agent reported in June 1982, according to Operation Greenback documents. Chief among them was what one Greenback prosecutor delicately called "the procedures under which cases are selected for investigation."

Operation Greenback had collided with the institutional interests of the banking industry. In May 1982, William von Raab, U.S. Customs Commissioner, attended the annual meeting of the Florida Bankers Association and scolded the "sleazy institutions who are intentionally profiting from this dirty business." One banker shouted, "You are using us as a whipping boy," and the furious financiers immediately adjourned the meeting. Another problem was that Federal Reserve Bank examiners were not trained in, and therefore not interested in, tracking money laundering, according to former U.S. prosecutor Richard Gregorie. And yet a third hindrance was that the Reagan Administration was easing rather than tightening the regulation of financial institutions. Reagan's hiring freeze limited the number of bank examiners and Internal Revenue Service agents available to pore over financial records and look for things like savings and loan fraud and money laundering. Both flourished.

George Bush, appointed to lead the nation's antidrug efforts in March 1982, "wasn't really too interested in financial prosecution," says Charles Blau, the chief prosecutor in Operation Greenback at the time. Within a year of Bush's appointment, Greenback was downgraded from a senior interagency committee in Washington to a unit within the office of the U.S. Attorney in Miami. Meanwhile, the cash surplus in the cities of Jacksonville and Miami had risen to \$5.2 billion.

The best that can be said for the scaled-back version of Operation Greenback is that it seems to have forced drug financiers to move their operations to California. The Justice Department attributes the unprecedented \$3 billion cash surplus that developed in southern California in 1988 to increased money laundering operations in Los Angeles. But the State Department's biannual narcotics report notes that the "emerging group of professional, criminal financial managers" doesn't need greenbacks in sacks anymore. Drug banking is now done mostly

through electronic transfers, the report says. The entrepreneurs' duffel bags full of cash are "not laundered or otherwise converted, but simply held against future need."

U.S. District Court Judge Peter Beer, who heard the money-laundering case involving Capital Bank, noted how natural it is for the discreet banker to launder drug money. "With only a little softening of traditional concepts of business morality and the violation of a few somewhat obscure federal statutes," Beer observed in his 1982 decision, "a 'fee' hungry bank could be (and in this case became) an ideal laundry system. No one needed to get really involved. It would only be necessary that no one be too inquisitive." Few in the Bush Administration are inquisitive about drug banking.

In fact, prosecution of drug bankers is a very low priority in Bush's so-called national strategy. Operation Greenback is defunct and the once-tiny Capital Bank has since expanded its operations to Washington, D.C. The bank that collected a quarter-billion dollars in drug receipts in 1980-81 now has a gleaming branch office two blocks from George Bush's White House.

The New Entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurs in the crack trade are not so well situated. They too belong to a growth industry, but the urban crack market is fraught with fierce competition for scarce profits and scarcer social respect. Again, the economic transformations of the 1970s are crucial. Economic institutions withdrew from the poor urban (and rural) communities, where much of the crack commerce takes place. Urban areas lost entry-level jobs, especially in blue-collar industries. The new jobs that were created there required higher levels of education, but the quality of education in urban black communities could not keep up. The drug economy increasingly became the major cash-generating commerce in the areas abandoned by global capitalism.

By the mid-1980s the cocaine market was consolidating and prices were dropping. "As classically happens in cases of market saturation," says Terry Williams, author of *Cocaine Kids*, "a new product was introduced which offered the chance to expand the market in ways never before possible. Crack, packaged in small quantities and sold for \$5 and sometimes even less—a fraction of the usual minimum sale for powder—allowed dealers to attract an entirely new class of consumers." It also created a whole new class of entrepreneurs: African-American teen-agers, who need little startup capital and who reject traditional authority.

The urban drug entrepreneur is portrayed as a member of "the underclass" and the victim of the so-called culture of poverty. Yet, according to diverse media accounts, the crack entrepreneurs often display those traits purportedly absent from said culture: work discipline, personal abstention from drug abuse, and thrift. Crack entrepreneurs do not entirely reject mainstream culture. Like Adler's post-hippie proto-yuppies hanging out in the disco bars of San Diego in the late 1970s, young black entrepreneurs are irrational materialists. Their rebellion is part of their conformism to the larger culture. They spurn the injunctions of parents, police,

teachers and other authorities, but they embrace the entrepreneurial and consumption cultures of mainstream America. They are exemplars of the culture of capitalism.

Democratic capitalism sustains no other growth industry in the inner city besides crack. Many white-run businesses have shut down or left for lower costs in the suburbs and overseas. Ethnic petty entrepreneurs, like Korean and Chinese grocers, naturally favor employing their own. Larger firms seem resistant to hiring blacks either because of racist policies or because urban blacks lack the necessary job skills. And during the past fifteen years the federal government has generally preferred to use transfer payments or trickle-down economics to sustain the ghettos.

The black authority figures who might harness the entrepreneurial zeal of black youth are prone to work in the public sector or in integrated businesses. In either case, they lack the control of capital necessary to employ black youth and build black economic institutions.

So what's a young, gifted and black entrepreneur supposed to do, as a rational economic actor in a capitalist society? "It's a question I hate," Peter Reuter, an economist at the Rand Corporation, says. "But a lot of time he or she's going to go into dealing drugs. It is clearly a way for a lot of people in the ghetto to get ahead, at least temporarily and, many times, for longer. For many people it's clearly the only shot they've got for getting out of the ghetto. That said, I think the risk of violence is large, especially in crack, and I don't think you can stay in the trade for an unlimited time without experiencing that violence at some point."

As Williams puts it, "Drugs are the nexus between the culture of refusal and economic opportunity."

The Gang in Business Suits

In 1966 Rap Brown said that violence was as American as apple pie—but Rap Brown had yet to see the apple pie that is cocaine capitalism. You can't get much more American than the story (recounted in *The Wall Street Journal*) of the mid-level lackey in San Francisco who bailed out of the corporate rat race and set up a multimillion-dollar cocaine distribution firm. Following the advice of his grandfather, the aspiring capitalist dedicated his life to sitting in what grandpa called "the catbird seat"—that privileged perch reserved for that rare (and usually white) man who is master of his universe. This Reagan-era rascal whiled away the 1980s on various Hawaiian beaches and was working on a heroic *roman à clef* about his own exploits when he was busted. The number of people competent and willing to participate in the drug trade, Reuter observes pensively, "is extremely large, perhaps in the many tens of thousands."

The entrepreneurs at either end of the drug market attract the most media attention: the flashy black crack dealer selling \$5 rocks, the fabulously wealthy Colombians masterminding five-kiloton shipments. But the Rev. David Perrin, a minister in Washington, D.C., notes that blacks are "at the bottom rung of the whole drug industry within our country. The people who are really responsible, and I hate to say it this way, but once

again, in terms of the whole power structure, [are] white business executives with the connections to be able to import drugs, sitting back in air-conditioned offices."

The professional middle class of the North American drug economy receives little attention. This class ranges from friends of Pete Rose (three of whom are doing time for coke deals) to friends of Oliver North (one of whom played a leading role in a scheme to import \$10 million worth of cocaine into Florida). They are, in the words of one Treasury Department official, the "members of a wealthy, highly skilled, professional class, many of whom do not have previous criminal records, some of whom are highly respected members of their community. They are attorneys, accountants, bankers and money brokers."

They are people like former Representative Robert Hanrahan, Republican from Illinois, who last year pleaded guilty to money-laundering charges, or Representative Patrick Swindall, the right-wing Republican from suburban Atlanta who was convicted on nine perjury counts for his testimony in a money-laundering investigation. The aptly named Swindall told an undercover agent he was willing to participate in a money-laundering scheme.

They are people like Richard Silberman, a leading fundraiser for presidential candidate Jerry Brown in 1980. Silberman promised to launder millions in drug profits for an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "I've been doing this for twenty years," Silberman reportedly boasted. Such well-placed and respectable operators make up the heart of the cocaine economy. And, alas, the Reverend Perrin is right. Their persuasion is Caucasian.

The successful drug entrepreneurs are well entrenched. As early as 1982, the cocaine world was "rapidly heading toward an almost corporate order," according to Jeff Leen and Guy Gugliotta, the authors of *Kings of Cocaine*, a colorful account of the Colombian role in the creation of the cocaine economy. In 1988, Robert Merkle, a federal prosecutor in Tampa, Florida, tried to impress the new reality on the jurors judging Carlos Lehder, one of Colombia's leading cocaine financiers. Merkle likened Lehder to capitalist hero Henry Ford and disputed the popular stereotype that men who dominate the cocaine economy are gangland-style marauders. "You have to understand the modern gang," Merkle told the jury. "The modern gang wears a business suit. The modern gang doesn't rob banks, it buys banks. It doesn't take money from people. It gives them something they want."

In this respect, at least, the captains of the cocaine economy are no different from the producers of beer, wine, liquor, semiautomatic weapons, cigarettes, phone sex, MTV, fluorocarbons or dirt bikes. They sell pleasurable consumption with varying degrees of alleged antisocial consequences. The cocaine economy is not an aberration in the national consumer economy but a microcosm of it.

Continued on page 20

*The impossibility of participation:
Power as sum of constraints*

The mechanisms of attrition and destruction: humiliation (two), isolation (three), suffering (four), work (five), decompression (six).

Humiliation

The economy of daily life is based on a continual exchange of humiliations and aggressive attitudes. It conceals a technique of attrition itself prey to the *gift* of destruction which paradoxically it invites (1). Today, the more man is a social being the more he is an object (2). Decolonization has not yet begun (3). It will have to give a new value to the old principle of sovereignty (4).

1

Travelling through a busy village one day, Rousseau was mocked by a yokel whose barbs delighted the crowd. Confused and discomfited, Rousseau couldn't think of a word in reply and was forced to take to his heels amidst the jeers of the villagers. By the time he had finally regained his composure and thought of a thousand possible retorts, any one of which would have silenced the joker at a stroke, he was two hours' distance from the village.

Aren't most of the trivial incidents of daily life like this ridiculous adventure? But in an attenuated and diluted form, reduced to the duration of a step, a glance, a thought, experienced as a muffled impact, a fleeting discomfort barely registered by consciousness and leaving in the mind only a dull irritation at a loss to discover its own origin? The endless minuet of humiliation and its response gives human relationships an obscene hobbling rhythm. In the ebb and flow of the crowds sucked in and crushed together by the coming and going of suburban trains, coughed out into the streets, offices and factories, there is nothing but timid retreats, brutal attacks, smirking faces, and scratches delivered for no apparent reason. Soured by unwanted encounters, wine turns to vinegar in the mouth. Don't talk to me about innocent and good-natured crowds. Look how they bristle up, threatened on every side, clumsy and embarrassed in enemy territory, far, very far, from themselves. Lacking knives, they learn to use their elbows and their eyes as weapons.

There is no remission, no truce between attackers and attacked. A flux of barely perceptible signs assails the walker, who is anything but solitary. Remarks, gestures, glances tangle and collide, miss their aim, ricochet like bullets fired at random, killing even more surely by the continuous nervous tension they produce. All we can do is enclose ourselves in embarrassing parentheses; like these fingers (I am writing this on a cafe terrace) which slide the tip across the table and the fingers of the waiter which pick it up, while the faces of the two men involved, as if anxious to conceal the infamy which they have consented to, assume an expression of utter indifference.

From the point of view of constraint, daily life is governed by an economic system in which the production and consumption of insults tends to balance out. The old dream of the theorists of free trade thus finds its realization in the customs of a democra-

cy given new life by the lack of imagination of the left. Isn't it strange, at first sight, to see the fury with which "progressives" attack the ruined edifice of liberalism, as if the capitalists, its official demolition gang, had not themselves already planned its nationalized reconstruction? But it is not so strange, in fact: for the deliberate purpose of keeping all attention fastened on critiques which have already been overtaken by events (after all, anybody can see that capitalism is gradually finding its fulfillment in a planned economy of which the Soviet model is nothing but a primitive form) is to conceal the fact that the only reconstruction of human relationships envisaged is one based on precisely this economic model, which, because it is obsolete, is available at a knock-down price. Who can fail to notice the alarming persistence with which "socialist" countries continue to organize life along bourgeois lines? Everywhere it's hats off to family, marriage, sacrifice, work, inauthenticity, while simplified and rationalized homeostatic mechanisms reduce human relationships to "fair" exchanges of deference and humiliation. And soon, in the ideal democracy of the cyberneticians, everyone will, without apparent effort, earn a share of unworthiness which he will then have the leisure to distribute according to the finest rules of justice. Distributive justice will reach its apogee. Happy the old men who live to see the day!

For me--and for some others, I dare to think--there can be no equilibrium in sickness. Planning is merely the flip side of the free market. The only thing subject to planning is exchange--and with it the mutual sacrifice it entails. But if the word "innovation" means anything it means transcendence, not camouflage. In fact, a truly new reality can only be based on the principle of the *gift*. Despite their mistakes and their poverty, I see in the historical experience of workers' councils (1917, 1921, 1934, 1956), and in the pathetic search for friendship and love, a single and inspiring reason not to despair over present "reality." Everything conspires to keep secret the positive character of such experiences; doubt is cunningly maintained as to their real importance, even their existence. By a strange oversight, no historian has ever taken the trouble to study how people actually lived during the most extreme revolutionary moments. At such times, the wish to make an end of free trade in human behavior shows itself spontaneously but in the form of negation. When malaise is challenged it shatters under the onslaught of a greater and

denser malaise.

In a negative sense, Ravachol's bombs or, closer to our own time, the epic of Caraquemada, dispel the confusion which reigns around the total rejection--manifested to a varying extent, but manifested everywhere--of relationships based on exchange and compromise. I have no doubt, since I have experienced it so many times, that anyone who passes an hour in the cage of constraining relationships feels a profound empathy for Pierre-Francois Lacenaire and the passion for crime. The point here is not to make an apology for terrorism, but to recognize it as an action--a most pathetic yet noble action--which is capable of sabotaging and exposing the self-regulating mechanisms of the hierarchical social community. Intrinsic to the logic of an unlivable society, murder thus conceived can only appear as the concave form of the *gift*. It is that absence of an intensely desired presence that Mallarmé described--the same Mallarmé who, at the trial of the Thirty, called the anarchists "angels of purity."

My sympathy for the solitary killer ends where tactics begin; but perhaps tactics need scouts driven by individual despair. However that may be, the new revolutionary tactics--which will be based indissolubly on the historical tradition and on the practice, so widespread and so disregarded, of individual self-realization--will have no place for people who only want to mimic the gestures of Ravachol or Bonnot. But on the other hand, these tactics will be condemned to theoretical hibernation if they cannot, by other means attract collectively the individuals who isolation and hatred for the collective lie have already won over to the rational decision to kill or to kill themselves. No murderers--and no humanists either! The first accepts death, the second imposes it. Let ten people meet who are resolved on the lightning of violence rather than the agony of survival; from this moment, despair ends and tactics begin. Despair is the infantile disorder of the revolutionaries of daily life.

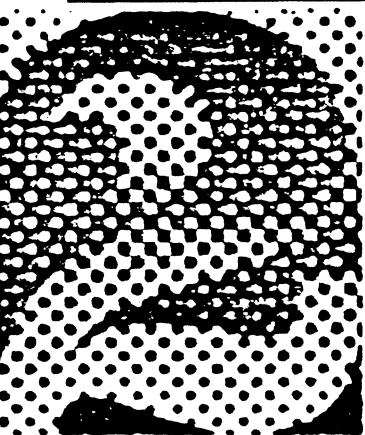
I still feel today my adolescent admiration for outlaws, not so much out of a regressive romanticism as because they expose the alibis by which social power avoids being put *right* on the spot. Hierarchical social organization is like a gigantic racket whose secret, exposed precisely by anarchist terrorism, is to place itself out of the reach of the violence it gives rise to, by consuming everybody's energy in a multitude of irrelevant struggles. (A "humanized" power cannot allow itself recourse to the old methods of war and geno-

cide.) The witnesses for the prosecution can hardly be suspected of anarchist tendencies. The biologist Hans Selye states that, "As specific causes of disease (microbes, undernourishment) disappear, a growing proportion of people die of what are called stress diseases, or diseases of degeneration caused by stress, that is, by the wear and tear resulting from conflicts, shocks, nervous tension, frustrations, debilitating rhythms..." From now on, no one can escape the necessity of conducting his own investigation into the racket which pursues him even into his thoughts, hunts him down even in his dreams. The smallest details take on a major importance. Irritation, fatigue, rudeness, humiliation...*cui bono?* Who profits by them? And who profits by the stereotyped answers that Big Brother Common Sense distributes under the label of wisdom, like so many alibis? Shall I be content with explanations that kill me when since *all* the cards are stacked against me, I have everything to win?

2

The handshake ties and unties the knot of encounters. A gesture at once curious and trivial which the French quite accurately say is *exchanged*: isn't it in fact the most simplified form of the social contract? What guarantees are they trying to seal, these hands clasped to the right, to the left, everywhere, with a liberality that seems to make up for a total lack of conviction? That agreement reigns, that social harmony exists, that life in society is perfect? What more disturbing than this need to convince ourselves of these lies, to believe them by force of habit, to reassert them with the strength of our grip. Our glances convey nothing of these accommodations, affecting not to see the exchange. When our eyes meet someone else's they become uneasy, as if they could make out their own empty, soulless reflection in the other person's pupils. Hardly have they met when they slip aside and try to dodge one another; their lines of flight cross at an invisible point, making an angle whose width expresses the divergence, the deeply felt lack of harmony. Sometimes unison is achieved and eyes connect: the beautiful parallel gaze of royal couples in Egyptian statuary, the misty, melting gaze, brimming with eroticism, of lovers' eyes which devour one another from afar. But most of the time eyes give the lie to the superficial agreement sealed by the handshake. All the embracing and backslapping that goes on could not be more phoney. Its commercial overtones are not hard to find, of course: the hand-

The Revolution of Everyday Life



by Raoul Vaneigem



Photo by Mikell Zhan

shake clinches a deal. More important, though, is the fact that this energetically reiterated affirmation of social concord is an attempt to trick our senses--to "adjust" our perception to the emptiness of the spectacle. "You have to face up to things," people used to say; the received wisdom of consumer society has given this sentence a new force, for *things* have indeed become the only available reality.

Become as senseless and easily handled as a brick! That is what the

social order benevolently asks everyone to do. The bourgeoisie has continued to share out frustrations more fairly, allowing a greater number of people to suffer them according to "rational" norms, to economic, social, political, or legal requirements. The splinters of constraint produced in this way have in turn fragmented the cunning and the energy devoted collectively to evading or smashing them. The revolutionaries of 1793 were great because they dared to usurp the unitary hold of God over

the government of men; the proletarian revolutionaries drew from what they were defending a greatness that they could never have seized from their bourgeois enemy--their strength derived from themselves alone.

A whole ethic based on exchange value, the pleasures of business, the dignity of labor, restrained desires, survival--and on their opposites, pure value, the gratuitous, parasitism, instinctive brutality and death: this is the filthy tub that human faculties have been bubbling in for nearly two centuries. From these ingredients--refined a little of course--the cyberneticians are dreaming of cooking up the man of the future. Are we quite sure that we haven't yet achieved the security of perfectly adapted beings, moving about as uncertainly and unconsciously as insects? For some time now there have been experiments with subliminal advertising; the insertion into films of single frames lasting 1/24 of a second, which are seen by the eye but not registered by consciousness. The first slogans give more than a glimpse of what is to come: "Don't drive too fast" and "Go to church." But what does a minor improvement like this represent in comparison with the whole immense conditioning machine, each of whose cogs--city planning, publicity, ideology, culture--is capable of dozens of comparable improvements? Once again, knowledge of the conditions which are going to *continue* to be imposed on people if they don't look out, is less relevant than the sensation of living in such degradation *now*. Huxley's *Brave New World*, Orwell's *1984* and Touraine's *Cinquième Coup de Trompette* push back into the future a shudder of horror which one straight look at the present would produce; and it is the present that develops consciousness and the will to refuse. Compared with my present imprisonment the future holds no interest for me.

The feeling of humiliation is nothing but the feeling of being an object. Once understood as such, it becomes the basis for a combative lucidity in which the critique of the organization of life cannot be separated from the immediate inception of the project of living differently. Construction can begin only on the foundation of individual despair and its transcendence; the efforts made to disguise this despair and pass it off under another wrapper are proof enough of this, if proof were needed. What is the illusion which stops us seeing the disintegration of values, the ruin of the world, inauthenticity, non-totality?

Is it that I think I am happy? Hardly! Such a belief doesn't stand up to analysis any better than it withstands the blasts of anguish. On the contrary, it is a belief in the happiness of others, an inexhaustible source of envy and jealousy which gives us a vicarious feeling of existence. I envy, therefore, I am. To define oneself by reference to others is to perceive oneself as other. And the other is always object. Thus life is measured in degrees of humiliation. The more you choose your own humiliation, the more you "live": the more you live the orderly life of things. Here is the cunning of reification, the means whereby it passes undetected, like arsenic in the jam.

The gentleness of these methods of oppression throws a certain light on the perversion which prevents me from shouting out, "The emperor has no clothes" each time my sovereignty over my daily life is exposed in all its poverty. Obviously police brutality is still going strong, to say the least. Everywhere it raises its head the kindly souls of the left quite rightly condemn it. But what do they do about it? Do they urge people to arm themselves? Do they encourage pig-hunts like the one which decorated the trees of Budapest with the finest fruits of the A.V.O.? No: they organize peaceful demonstrations at which their trade union police force treats anyone who questions their orders as an agent provocateur. The new policemen are ready to take over. The social psychologists will govern without truncheons: no more tough cops, only con cops. Oppressive violence is about to be transformed into a host of equitably distributed pinpricks. The same people who denounce police violence from the heights of their lofty ideals are urging us on towards a state based on polite violence.

Humanism merely upholsers the machine described in Kafka's *Penal Colony*. Less grinding and shouting! Blood upsets you? Never mind: men will be bloodless. The promised land of survival will be the realm of peaceful death that the humanists are fighting for. No more Guernicas, no more Auschwitzes, no more Hiroshimas, no more Sétifs. Hooray! But what about the impossibility of living, what about the jealous fury in which the rankling of never being ourselves drives us to imagine that other people are happy? What about this feeling of never really being inside your own skin? Let nobody say these are minor details or secondary points. There are no negligible irritations: gangrene can start in the slightest graze. The crises that shake the world are not fundamentally different from the conflicts in which my actions and thoughts confront the hostile forces that entangle and deflect them. (How could it be otherwise when history, in the last analysis, is only important to me insofar as it affects my own life?) Sooner or later the continual division and re-division of aggravations will split the atom of unlivable reality and liberate a nuclear energy which nobody suspected behind so much passivity and gloomy resignation. That which produces the common good is always terrible.

3

From 1945 to 1960, colonialism was a fairy godmother to the left. With a new enemy on the scale of fascism, the left never had to define itself (there was nothing there); it was able to affirm itself by negating something else. In this way it was able to accept itself as a thing, part of an order of things in which things are everything and nothing.

Nobody dared to announce the end of colonialism for fear that it would spring up all over the place like a jack-in-the-box whose lid doesn't shut properly. In fact, from the moment when the collapse of colonial power revealed the colonialism inherent in all power over men, the problems of race and color became about as important as crossword puzzles. What effect did the clowns of the left have as they trotted

Continued on next page

CONTRADICTIONS of cocaine capitalism

Continued from page 17

Morality and the New Class Bureaucrat

Enter Bill Bennett. "The drug crisis is a crisis of authority," he declared in a speech at the Washington Hebrew Congregation in May. The talk outlined the political philosophy underlying Bennett's campaign. His responsibility, Bennett announced, was to do nothing less than reconstitute social and legal authority in the Western Hemisphere. Bennett did not quite say that drugs are the primary cause of the social breakdown visible in the West. But he did say that getting high was a social and religious menace. "Drugs obliterate morals, values, character, our relations with each other and our relation to God."

Bennett's speech struck a classically conservative note in its apparent reticence to use state power. He expressed the hope that renewed respect for social authority would lead all Americans to forswear commerce in or use of marijuana, cocaine and heroin. If the state had to punish the recalcitrant, Bennett recommended swift but mild measures. But he also made it clear that if his paternalistic hand did not convince Americans to stop their pursuit of happiness via recreational drugs, then the state was justified in becoming more coercive.

Bennett thus distinguishes himself as a new kind of conservative fundamentalist political leader. Like Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell and George Wallace, Bennett seeks to galvanize a political constituency among a middle

class made uneasy by modern social mores. But Wallace castigated the pointyhead and the paper pusher; Bennett is both. His power base is the new class of intellectuals and bureaucrats.

The new class is composed of functionaries in public and private bureaucracies whose authority rests not on armed force or profit, or tradition or electoral support, but on their command of history, ideas and communications. Bennett rose through the American version of the new class, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Department of Education. In the communist world, the original new class bureaucrats justified state intervention in civil society with a historically vindicated vision of the future (Marxism) and sought to eliminate the allegedly antisocial marketplace. Bennett hopes to eliminate forever the markets in illicit drugs, and he justifies waging the drug war in civil society with a historically vindicated vision of the good society ("our Judeo-Christian heritage"). Bennett might be described as a new class conservative.

It is unlikely, to say the least, that Bennett will achieve anything resembling a "drug-free America." Even the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini couldn't achieve a drug-free Iran. How Bennett's drug war will affect the drug market is the real question. He may be able to create a marketplace violent and dangerous enough to persuade the squeamish to purchase other diversions. There is some evidence that the war on drugs has begun to have this effect on the

educated middle class.

Bennett could also conceivably improve the interdiction of cocaine shipments from South America. But Peter Reuter did a computer simulation of drug smuggling patterns and found that even a 40 percent increase in interdiction would do little to cut overall availability or consumption. Reuter defines interdiction as a tax on smugglers. The cost of the tax is passed along to the consumer, thus guaranteeing the profits of drug entrepreneurs. Bennett, to the extent he promotes drug interdiction, is promoting higher drug profits.

Bennett's emphasis on curbing consumers and petty entrepreneurs in the drug trade means the entrenched entrepreneurs and financiers in the higher echelons of the trade will receive less attention. Given Bennett's premises, the arrangement is not illogical. If using drugs is an offense against God, then those who get high on drugs should presumably be disciplined before those who merely get rich.

It sounds harsh to say that Bennett's drug war sometimes resembles a class war, but consider his selection of Washington as the showcase for his efforts. He promises more armed men to control the urban marketplace and closer surveillance of the local work force. It is true that the nation's capital has experienced an appalling season of violence associated with the cocaine economy. In terms of the international cocaine economy, though, Washington remains a regional center, far less important than either Miami or Los Angeles or perhaps even San Antonio.

Bennett demonstrated his priorities last spring when the Federal Reserve Bank in Washington released its statistics on the currency surpluses in Miami and Los Angeles. Bennett did not comment on or speculate about the morality of the combined \$8 billion bonanza, nor

did he ask the Fed to identify the banks that received it. Instead, Bennett obtained expedited eviction notices for sixty low-income, mostly black, residents of public housing projects in southeast Washington. Drug use had been reported in their apartments. In Bennett's "national strategy," state coercion must be visited on poor drug consumers before rich drug financiers. His morality requires it.

In this respect too, the cocaine economy resembles the national economy: The poor and the middle class pay the highest price for the new class conservative's vision of social progress. Drug bureaucrats and the drug bankers have arrived in the catbird seat. The drug war is the health of the state.

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The Revolution of Everyday Life Humiliation

Continued from page 19

about on their anti-racist and anti-semitic hobbyhorses? In the last analysis, the effect of smothering the cries of all those who are not Jews or blacks--starting with the Jews and blacks themselves. Of course, I would not dream of questioning the spirit of generosity which inspires anti-racism. But I lose interest in the past as soon as I can no longer affect it. I am speaking here and now, and nobody can persuade me, in the name of Alabama or South Africa and their spectacular exploitation, to forget who is humiliated and scorned by every aspect of our own society.

I will not renounce my share of violence.

Human relationships can hardly be discussed in terms of more or less tolerable conditions, more or less admissible indignities. Qualification is irrelevant. Do insults like "wog" or "nigger" hurt more than a word of command? When he is summoned, told off, or ordered around by a policeman, a boss, an authority, who doesn't feel deep down, in moments of lucidity, that he is a darkie and a gook?

The old colonials provided us with a perfect portrait of power when they predicted the descent into bestiality and wretchedness of those who found their presence undesirable. Law and order come first, says the guard to the prisoner. Yesterday's anti-colonialists are trying to humanize today's generalized colonialism. They become its watchdogs in the cleverest way: by barking at all the after-effects of past inhumanity.

Before he tried to get himself made President of Martinique, Aimé Césaire made a famous remark: "The bourgeoisie has found itself unable to solve the major problems which its own existence has produced: the colonial problem and the problem of the proletariat." He forgot to add: "For they are one and the same problem, a problem which anyone who separates them will fail to understand."

4

I read in Gouy's *Histoire de France*: "The slightest insult to the King meant immediate death." In the American Constitution: "The people are sovereign." In Pouget's *Père Peinard*: "Kings get fat off their sovereignty, while we are starving on ours." Corbon's *Secret du peuple* tells me: "The people today means the mass of men to whom all respect is denied." Here we have, in a few lines, the vicissitudes of the principle of sovereignty. Monarchism designated as "subjects" the objects of its arbitrary will. No doubt this was an attempt to wrap the radical inhumanity of its domination in a humanity of idyllic bonds. The respect due to the King's person cannot in itself be criticized. It is odious only because it is based on the right to humiliate while subordinating. The thrones of kings were rotted by contempt. But what about the citizen's sovereignty: the rights multiplied by bourgeois vanity and jealousy, sovereignty distributed like a dividend to each individual? What about the divine right of kings democratically shared out?

Continued on next page

A RISING NEW CAUSE OF SEVERE BRAIN DAMAGE:



Columns



Photo by Mikell Zhan

A's for Attitude

Barbie & Ken seek counseling

We don't know what to do, we can't seem to work it out
Ken stays out all night with the boys, Barbie starts to pout.
I just can't talk to her, what's she gonna say?
I don't wanna tell him that I'm sad, I just wanna run away.

I'm tired of having to check with her when I wanna do my thing
I met a cute guy at the office--I wanna have a fling
I'm tired of hanging around him just cause he wants me to
I can't keep secrets for her anymore, what am I gonna do?

She didn't want to come with me, I had to go alone
I hate it when he has to know who is on the phone
He pleases himself then forgets about me
She gives me no time alone, I just wanna be free.

I gave up everything else so that I could live by his side
I couldn't face up to what I did, I felt guilty so I lied
I don't wanna leave Barbie, she makes my life complete
I avoid temptation, ignore every man I meet

NO! I'd never take another woman out, that would make her mad
He does it to prove he loves me, he tries not to be bad
We don't wanna break up like our friends Dawn and G.I. Joe
We want to be a couple and we want people to know

But I wanna go to Malibu, to be away from Ken
Does it mean that you don't love me? Here we go again!
We'll probably go our separate ways, it's just a matter of time.
I'm tired of guessing what's on your mind, tired of pantomime.

Barbie, Ken, stop shouting! The problem's clear to me
The world that you've created won't allow you to be free
Maybe you love the world of couples more than you love each other
Or maybe you really care and it's the rules that bind and smother

Why do you think you must behave this way, in what way are you bound?

Who said that it must be this way? Take a look around
The good may outweigh the bad but something will destroy it in the end

Then what happens, people, will you lose your favorite friend?

Man wearing skirt

I am a man who sometimes wears a skirt.

I don't do it to become a woman. My wearing a skirt is not drag. To dispel that idea I often go without shaving on the days I wear a skirt. That way it is obvious I am a man and that I am not trying to imitate women.

I don't do it to attract men. I am not homosexual.

I do not achieve sexual stimulation from wearing a skirt. I am not a trans-

Humiliation

Continued from previous page

Today France contains twenty-four million mini-kings, of which the greatest--the bosses--are great only in their ridiculousness. The sense of respect has become degraded to the point where the right to humiliate is all that it demands. Democratized into public functions and roles, the monarchic principle floats belly up, like a dead fish: only its most repulsive aspect is visible. Its will to be absolutely and unreservedly superior has disappeared. Instead of basing our lives on our sovereignty, we try to base our sovereignty on other people's lives. The manners of slaves.

vestite.

I do not need to now pierce my ears, wear makeup, shave my legs, nor grow long hair because I wear a skirt. Adopting one traditionally female piece of attire does not require me to accept others. If I do those things it would be for the same reason I wear a skirt.

Because I WANT TO.

Because I've worn pants for the past 22 years of my life and would like an occasional bit of variety.

Because they are comfortable (although I'm still learning how to sit, get into cars, etc.).

Because I reject the limits on my expression placed on me because I am male.

Because a culture shocked by a man wearing a skirt but entirely blind to the violence of its government, the exploitation of its workplaces, and the stupefaction of its religion DESERVES to be shocked. At least.

Because I don't care--I DO NOT CARE--what you think of me or do to me because I am a man who wears a skirt.

Some simple-minded human dung beetles believe women should be passive, subservient, and unambitious. Some stone-age walking ashtrays believe

men should never show emotion, touch each other only in ritual ways (the business handshake and the football tackle), and should wear only leggings that divide at the crotch. These sorry spongebrains, these living proofs against evolution, have made the world in their image. Some of us have decided to take it back.

At the base of any struggle towards equality between women and men there must also be the realization that much of what defines the feminine and the masculine is harmful misconception. The possibilities for variety in how we interact are too great to limit ourselves to only two genders, each with its own lifestyle and uniform. To take control of one's body and life requires the great responsibility of accepting wherever one's desires may lead, even if they lead to places beyond one's prescribed sex, sexuality, age, race, or ability. When I wear a skirt I can feel centuries of repression shattering around me. Often the confusion is replaced by anger. But if by wearing a skirt I inspire anyone to trust their desires over society's narrow plan for their lives I have progressed towards the liberation of all people.

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On crisis ideology

Continued from page 22

control, and can even make simple relations between them superfluous since they are too busy watching over incomprehensible processes. Such development cannot possibly lead to community, a world without domination the self-determination of human beings; such development can produce nothing but commodities and alienation.

Projects or activities which base--or justify--themselves on the economic contradictions of capitalism display a complete incomprehension of the nature of modern capitalism, and they are often accompanied by a politician's logic. They conform to the system's rules of the game and define their tactics accordingly. Our critique should focus on the roots of capitalism itself, on the historic conditions which engender and reproduce it, on the practices which reinforce alienation, namely, on mass production, work, the state. In modern conditions of commodity production and consumption, the true social crisis is the poverty of existence, where consumption (of objects, images...) is an essential element. A perspective which aims to overcome this poverty has nothing in common with the voluntarism and the mystique of the "historically inevitable" revolution.

Columns

Interrogations for the Human Community

On crisis ideology

Whether it appears in its classic form (economic contradictions fatal to capitalism) or in its modern form (restructuring which rules out the very possibility of accumulation), crisis ideology always makes certain assumptions:

--the development of productive forces will enter into contradiction with the relations of production and this will be the beginning of a revolutionary phase;

--"revolutionaries" should therefore devise a strategy appropriate to the contradiction they anticipate...and the variations it could bring;

--this objective situation will cause the "masses" to follow the movement, not according to individual responses, but according to what they are objectively(!) obliged to do.

In what follows we will try to clarify our position regarding this ideology.

Capitalism is a set of social relations, and also a set of relations of production. In order to assure that these relations of production serve as a cohesive element in global social relations, new productive forces are introduced, developed, restructured. Even when some part of these forces is destroyed, which today happens constantly, global cohesion is strengthened. What is remarkable about the widespread destruction of World War II and the reconstruction that followed is not so much the policy of huge enterprises which the bombings facilitated, but rather the introduction of more elaborate forms of submission, including the elimination of structures which restrained even minimal links with tradition, the imposition of a new scale of value, the restructuring of everyday life.... Appropriate new forms of production and consumption evolved which expressed this new mode of life and which required submission to it.

Theories which focus on the Marxist thesis about the contradiction between the development of productive forces and the fetters of the productive relations distort capitalism's development of productive forces in the image of its relations of production. Although capitalism experiences crises of overproduction and of restructuring, these crises do not offer any "objective" possibility of transcending the system for the good of humanity, but are merely an integral part in the normal functioning of contemporary capitalism against humanity. There is no reason to welcome a "revolution" which liberates productive forces from restrictive relations of production. In the logic which foresees the development of productive forces culminating in a classless society, the proletarians are to appropriate the "wealth" which the exploiters currently grab for themselves, and communism will be an extension of capitalism. In contrast to this view, we do not see this wealth as human wealth, but as wealth for capital.

This thesis sees in the development of productive forces the emergence of neutral--namely beneficial--forces which humanity can use for its liberation; and its anti-human bias is obvious when one examines what is included in the term "productive forces": natural resources, capital, the power of machine tools, human forces. What enormous esteem for nature to consider itself as a mere resource. What enormous esteem for humans to see themselves as just another "force" alongside the dynamic fundamental ones of the robot and money. If a one-sided development of certain muscles or a neurosis makes an individual more productive (more efficient on the job), his or her deformity or illness is a productive force. When the monotony of a job makes him or her more efficient in carrying out this job, monotony is a productive force, etc. In productivist logic, there is no human being but only a force to create wealth, a force on the same level as other productive forces, equivalent to the machine, to the robot. Considering humans to be a productive force necessarily implies

that relations of production have transformed them into things. This reduction is all too obvious in the evolution which, from factory to machine industry, from automation to computerization, turns humans into accessories, reduces them to a collection of predetermined motions over which they have no

Continued on page 21



by John Zerzan

The Nihilist's Dictionary

Division of labor (di-vizh'en uv la'ber) *n.*

1. the breakdown into specific, circumscribed tasks for maximum efficiency of output which constitutes manufacture; cardinal aspect of production.
2. the fragmenting or reduction of human activity into separated toil that is the practical root of alienation; that basic specialization which makes civilization appear and develop.

The relative wholeness of pre-civilized life was first and foremost an absence of the narrowing, confining separation of people into differentiated roles and functions. The foundation of our shrinkage of experience and powerlessness in the face of the reign of expertise, felt so acutely today, is the division of labor. It is hardly accidental that key ideologues of civilization have striven mightily to valorize it. In Plato's *Republic*, for example, we are instructed that the origin of the state lies in that "natural" inequality of humanity that is embodied in the division of labor. Durkheim celebrated a fractionated, unequal world by divining that the touchstone of "human solidarity," its essential moral value is--you guessed it. Before him, according to Franz Borkenau, it was a great increase in division of labor occurring around 1600 that introduced the abstract category of work, which may be said to underlie, in turn, the whole modern, Cartesian notion that our bodily existence is merely an object of our (abstract) consciousness.

In the first sentence of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith foresaw the essence of industrialism by determining that division of labor represents a qualitative increase in productivity. Twenty years later Schiller recognized that division of labor was producing a society in which its members were unable to develop their humanity. Marx could see both sides: "as a result of division of labor," the worker is "re-

duced to the condition of a machine." But decisive was Marx's worship of the fullness of production as essential to human liberation. The immiseration of humanity along the road of capital's development he saw as a necessary evil.

Marxism cannot escape the determining imprint of this decision in favor of division of labor, and its major voices certainly reflect this acceptance. Lukacs, for instance, chose to ignore it, seeing only the "reifying effects of the dominant commodity form" in his attention to the problem of proletarian consciousness. E.P. Thompson realized that with the factory system, "the character-structure of the rebellious pre-industrial labourer or artisan was violently recast into that of the submissive individual worker." But he devoted amazingly little attention to division of labor, the central mechanism by which this transformation was achieved. Marcuse tried to conceptualize a civilization without repression, while amply demonstrating the incompatibility of the two. In bowing to the "naturalness" inherent in division of labor, he judged that the "rational exercise of authority" and the "advancement of the whole" depend upon it--while a few pages later (in *Eros and Civilization*) granting that one's "labor becomes the more alien the more specialized the division of labor becomes."

Ellul understood how "the sharp knife of specialization has passed like a razor into the living flesh," how division of labor causes the ignorance of a "closed universe" cutting off the subject from others and from nature. Similarly did Horkheimer sum up the debilitation: "thus, for all their activity individuals are becoming more passive; for all their power over nature they are becoming more powerless in relation to society and themselves." Along these lines, Foucault emphasized productivity as the fundamental contemporary repression.

But recent Marxian thought continues in the trap of having, ultimately, to elevate division of labor for the sake of technological progress. Braverman's in many ways excellent *Labor and Monopoly Capital* explores the degradation of work, but sees it as mainly a problem of loss of "will and ambition to wrest control of production from capitalist hands." And Schwabbe's *Psychosocial Consequences of Natural and Alienated Labor* is dedicated to the ending of all domination in production and projects a self-management of production. The reason, obviously, that he ignores division of labor is that it is inherent in production; he does not see that it is nonsense to speak of liberation and production in the same breath.

The tendency of division of labor has always been the forced labor of the interchangeable cog in an increasingly autonomous, impervious-to-desire apparatus. The barbarism of modern times is still the enslavement to technology, that is to say, to division of labor. "Specialization," wrote Giedion, "goes on without respite," and today more than ever can we see and feel the barren, de-eroticized world it has brought us to. Robinson Jeffers decided, "I don't think industrial civilization is worth the distortion of human nature, and the meanness and loss of contact with the earth, that it entails."

Meanwhile, the continuing myths of the "neutrality" and "inevitability" of technological development are crucial to fitting everyone to the yoke of division of labor. Those who oppose domination while defending its core principle are the perpetrators of our captivity. Consider Guattari, that radical post-structuralist, who finds that desire and dreams are quite possible "even in a society with highly developed industry and highly developed public information services, etc." Our advanced French opponent of alienation scoffs at the naive who detect the "essential wickedness of industrial societies," but does offer the prescription that "the whole attitude of specialists needs questioning." Not the existence of specialists, of course, merely their "attitudes."

To the question, "How much division of labor should we jettison?" returns, I believe, the answer, "How much wholeness for ourselves and the planet do we want?"

Columns

Breaking New Ground

Morality or critique?

It is a fine line between being thoughtfully critical and being moralistically judgmental. And so often the boundary is deeply blurred and difficult to distinguish, hidden (intentionally or otherwise) under fancy language designed to disguise the true purpose behind a statement. This happens continually in mainstream society—but we expect it there. What is sad is the extent to which crass manipulation, doublespeak and pronouncements-from-the-pulpit fester and go unchallenged in various "radical" milieus. One of the reasons for discontinuing my involvement with Earth First!, for example, was the way that doctrinaire, unsupported opinions and judgments would get passed-off—nearly unchallenged—as if they were unanimously held conclusions based on a thorough and open examination of the issue. And in that case it's not so much obfuscation for their own ends, but disappointment in the lack of support within the rest of the group for exposing and confronting such shit.

Not to sound like I'm picking on any one, though, since the tendency is near-universal. In *Anarchy* #22, in another example, both articles on the Day of Action (following the Without Borders anarchist gathering in San Francisco) were highly moralistic and judgmental—in their own, different, ways—while offering little in the way of new ideas or careful evaluation that could help expand the realm of discussion and action. The D.O.A., like most other anarchist projects, activities and ideas, is quite controversial and receives considerable discussion. Yet when critique becomes judgment, people are more likely to go on the defensive (I know I do!) and cling to ideas or opinions that they may not even feel that strongly about. Far too many issues (D.O.A. being only one of untold many) have been reduced to my-faction-vs.-your-faction types of ideological sniping, personal character attacks and quibbling debates over the minutiae of some or other academic distinction. Most of us are all too familiar with the results.

Since the printed word is already a highly abstracted means of communication—quite distanced as it is from the immediacy and transitory nature of feeling, thought & direct personal encounter—I think it reasonable that we learn to be a bit less attached to our words and the frozen bits of ideas that they represent. I guess I'd like to see less debate between "sides" or positions and more fluid discussion that could help break new ground for everybody. There is so much to be done & so much we're up against. Who can claim to have an answer that is beyond question, that does not have inadequacies in its own way? We should be able to evaluate everything for both its usefulness & limitations in the larger struggle and in our daily lives so we can know just where we're at, without illusions. To be a little more specific & concrete: The D.O.A. demo, for example, could be evaluated on 1) tactical & strategic successes/mistakes; 2) place of militant street action in modern

society; 3) actual effect on the issue, the local homeless community & local activists; 4) the group & personal dynamics that took place.... These are just a few right off the top of my head—certainly they are the most superficial. An in-depth discussion of any one would likely open all sorts of new theoretical & practical ground. It's a bit more difficult than critically condemning or exalting an action, but the tasks facing us demand no less.

One last angle to these thoughts & I'll be done: Parallel with exchanging judgmentalism & moralizing with more generative & supportive forms of critique, there needs to be space explicitly opened for making mistakes, for trial & error. Few things will kill creativity & imagination like the fear of being heavily condemned or ridiculed if our efforts go awry or are deemed "inappropriate" or (gawd forbid!) "politically incorrect"! Really, except for the undercover state filth, the motive of people in our milieu are rarely malevolent—so why treat them as if they are? It has to be OK to fuck up. However, it also has to be OK to be relentless & thorough in our questioning & confronting of ideas & actions felt to be harmful.

Beware! The flip side of morality & judgment is a false, mystifying notion of "tolerance for diversity of opinion in the movement." This is a manipulative means of avoiding a challenge, not learning from it. E.g. men refusing to cop to sexism and D.O.A. participants unwilling to 'fess up about some of the real political damage done by their actions—both in the guise of "Hey man, you're pushing your ideas on me," or "I thought this was supposed to be anarchy," or some such excuse.

So I'm open to comments on all this. I might even listen!

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c/o C.A.L.

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An Imaginary Passion by Noa Wasteland/wonderland

Like all good badguys, Badguy of "The Badguy report" will pass into history with the '80s. This new column, "An imaginary passion," will be more elusive and as yet unknown....

The wasteland and the wonderland are not the reality we like to pretend, because, if we really like to pretend, we can make waste a wonderful thing to waste our time with...as in the lyrical trashy assemblage of postmodern archetypes until they mean nothing if not, stick with the image. Get sick with the image. Recover and uncover with the image. As for the wonderland, it has to make you wonder. If those who demand it with shortness of breath and a bitten-tongue ripped free so all may know "this argument has teeth!"—if they don't feel wonderful and drink the light of our eyes agog, well how we gonna find anything 'cept nowonder-land? Nohow, that's how!

Why do I try so hard not to feel and not to be? Not to go with the flow of disarming desire. And when asked what I think, to simply sniff the air in

Albuquerque and say "oh piñon" with a sigh. I used to want to know the truth. I tried to know how I felt. Now I want to know nothing—except as a breath which starts as one thing and winds up as another and so on to another and another with little time or memory for any of this. Knowing not at all what I feel, I can feel what I feel and be what I be. And let the others worry or not worry.

I am inspired by the prosex and prosaic feminists who create works of sexual fancy like *Caught Looking* and *On Our Backs*. They come right out and say: "This turns us on!" ("and we know that can't be bad, woowooo.") Now, maybe I like the innocent stuff while madame demands more s. and m. But do we really have to get into a tizzy over it?

A couple of years ago I tried to make copies of *On Our Backs*, a magazine for adventurous lesbians, available at the local co-op. Within a day after the mags were on the shelf they disappeared. A few weeks ago, I found out what happened to them. After the co-op moved out of the building, the new owners found them behind an old furnace. Why would someone put them there? What were they feeling at the time? I can only guess and my feelings remain hidden from them. What a shame. Maybe we could have wrestled, talked, hugged...somehow experienced something of the other. Maybe with lowered eyes and silly grins over a bowl of soup....

The satirized version of a Doonesbury comic strip which was published in the *Fayetteville Observer Times* appears on this page. The panel intended by G.B. Trudeau follows the altered strip. The word "hooters" would upset too many people in Fayetteville, Arkansas according to the paper's editor, Tom English, Jr., who explained, "I recently had to edit B.C. for cursing."

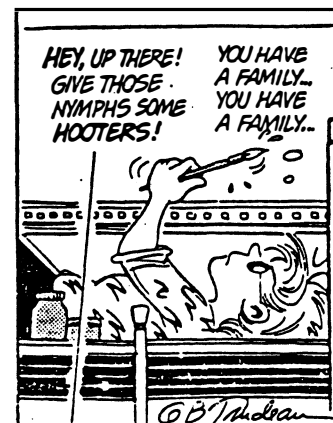
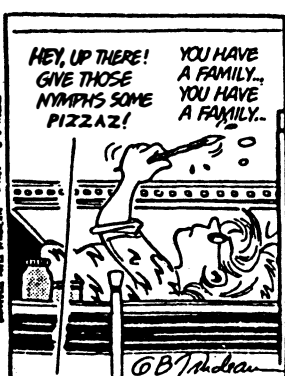
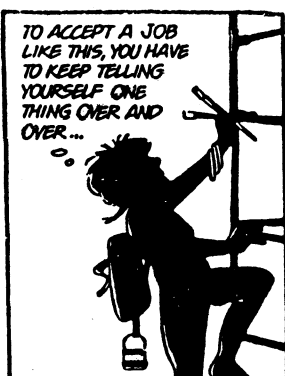
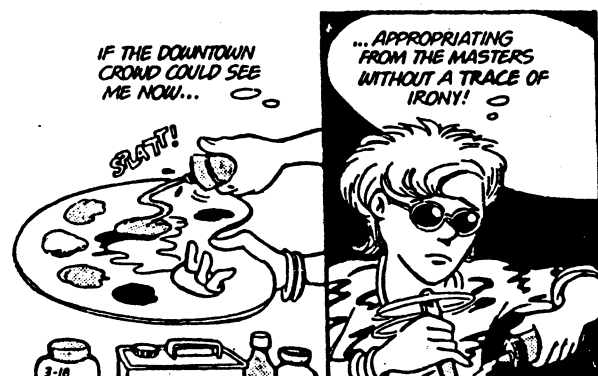
In mid-Missouri, you can read Doonesbury in the *Columbia Missourian* or the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. I used to buy the *Columbia Tribune* just to read Zippy, Bill Griffith's absurdist strip. The cancellation of Zippy by the *Trib* provides a good example of how imaginative subversive works like Zippy are disappeared under the pretenses of democracy and of business-as-usual. The rationale offered by the *Trib* was that Zippy came in dead last in their comic poll. What they conveniently forgot to consider was that Zippy had been running less than a year at the time the poll was taken—not much time to cultivate a large following. They also pretend not to understand that the worldly readership of Zippy are probably quite different from most funnies fans. I'd guess Zippy-heads probably would laugh at the very idea of a comics poll. Could it be that Griffith's frequent jabs at Reagan and the fabric of our veiled society was too much for a certain "moderate" Republican newspaper-owner or some of his advertisers?

If you live in this part of the state and want to read Zippy, you can pick up the *Kansas City Times*. And when the *Times* merges with the *K.C. Star* as planned, we might have a paper with both Doonesbury and Zippy.

Whether we get to read what the artists created or some normalized (read censored) product of an editor's paternalism we can only wonder. Like loving lesbians stashed behind a furnace of fear everything worth seeing and worth being seems to be invisible and out of this world.

Doonesbury

THE FAYETTEVILLE OBSERVER-TIMES, Saturday Morning, March 18, 1989



The alternative press: Doonesbury with pizzaz and (in last panel at right) without

Letters



We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to continue this dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to **Anarchy** will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in the paper—as in the case of an author of an article in **Anarchy**.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable or excessively boring. Please limit length to two single-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to **Anarchy**, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. We look forward to hearing from you!

Not moving enough

Howdy Lev,

It seems to me that our movement isn't moving enough. We could use less argument and more cooperation.

I was happy to see the beginning of Feral Faun's series in **Anarchy** #19. I hope to see more in **Anarchy** about practically applied anarchy. Thought precedes action, but words alone are cheap.

Disarm authority!

In friendship,
S.H., Spencerport, NY.

Changed perspective

Dear Anarchy,

As a recent and enthusiastic subscriber to your magazine, I would like to order a couple of back issues from you.... I've also enclosed an SASE for a copy of *As we see it!* Just the few issues of **Anarchy** I've read have changed my perspective (and understanding of) the machinations of mainstream politics and its self-serving pretensions.

Sincerely,
T.N., Albany, NY.

Prime-time lies

Dear Lev,

Thanks for sending me the latest issue of **Anarchy**, with my article/chapter from *Sexual Friendship* [See "Whatever happened to the sexual revolution?" in **Anarchy** #20/21] on the front cover and inside. It looked great. I must admit, I wasn't very happy with the review of the book that accompanied the last excerpt [Note: *Sexual Friendship* was reviewed in **Anarchy** #19, and another chapter was excerpted from the book in that issue under the title of "Save the children"]. It contained so many qualifications, critiques, etc., that I got the feeling it would leave the reader thinking, "So why buy this book anyway?" But this latest installment, with the nice prefatory blurb, did justice to the core of the book. Maybe it will even sell a few copies. I don't mean to sound mercenary, but so far the book seems to be slowly dying a quiet death (even though it was picked up as a selection of the establishment-oriented Psychotherapy & Social Science Book Club, whose members are shrinks and other professional types)....

The latest issue looks very good, especially the truth-telling analysis of the "war on drugs," the piece on Afghanistan, and the terrific poem by Morgan Feralchilde. Was that written by John Zerzan, or am I confusing him with M.F.? [Note: They are two different people.] I sent him a bunch

of anti-office-work poems and stories for his announced upcoming handbook on work subversion but never heard from him.

I'd like to see more political/social hard-core analysis in **Anarchy**. The left-liberal magazines seem to be playing an elaborate game, talking only to each other, and subtly proving (in the act of writing) their "holier-than-thou" purity. It's dull, and it's not going anywhere. The condition of America right now is far more serious than anything intimated in their measured cadences. The major media is a total turn-off. The prime-time TV news, full of crimes, sports, gossip, and trivia, is "Fascist lemon cream"—a gooey muck designed to blot out reality and fill people's minds with junk and lies. "Friendly fascism" (the name of Bertram Gross's book, South End Press) seems to be a key term to get a handle on the situation. I'm thinking of doing an essay entitled "Friendly Fascism," sort of an update on Gross's book transposed into the Bush/C.I.A. reality of the present. Would you be interested in seeing such a piece? It seems that readers of **Anarchy** and similar publications... we're all just talking to ourselves too, but I can't see what else to do.

Anyway, keep up the good work, and it would be great to hear from you.

Richard Walters, NYC., NY.

Investigating anarchy

Dear Sir,

Enclosed find a check for \$1.50. Please send me a copy of **Anarchy** magazine. I'm investigating anarchy as a personal philosophy, since established politics seems to exist for the sole purpose of benefiting the politicians, rather than the electorate they are supposedly responsible to. Why not anarchy? I found out about your publication through Mike Gunderloy's *Factsheet Five*.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

M.K., Niagara Falls, NY.

Please write

Dear C.A.L.,

Hello, I'm 22 yrs. old. Single, white man. 6'/145 lbs. Brown/-Blue. I don't smoke, drink or do drugs. I like nature, children, Geology, Science, making friends, Anarchism, writing letters, cooking, reading, music, etc. I've just been introduced to Anarcha-Feminism and I'm willing to learn all I can about it. I'm in Prison with a 15 year sentence—My first and last

time down. I've got about 3 years to go. I'm looking for a special friend who would be willing to share his/her thoughts, joys and fears with me as I would do. Age, race or sex unimportant, but I am very interested in finding a woman to share myself with in love. I don't need money just friendship. I'm a very caring and open-minded person. Please write me and let's grow in friendship.

Daniel L. May
M.S.P.-#165482
POB 900

Jefferson City, MO. 65102

De-habilitation

Dear C.@L.,

Again I'm writing you from the confines of the California DE-HABILITATION Center to tell you of how wonderful your zine is and to ask you for another copy—(continue prisoner subscription). It's really great to read about all that people are doing out there.

Reading your zine kind of helps me to think about things besides being locked up.

Things in here go on as usual. The cops lay on the brainwashing along with a strong dose of de-humanization. I'm an N#, which basically means that I've been classified as a drug user. So, to the guards I'm nothing more than Junkie Trash, and they tell me that quite often. I have to fight hard to remind myself that I am a human being just like anyone else.

Anyway, here's my name and number. Keep it coming, it's really a life saver.

Thank you,
B.S., Norco, CA.

No action in L.A.

Anarchy journal,

I attended the anarchist Gathering at S. Fran. and picked up many papers, liked yours best, so am enclosing \$10.00 for 1 year's subscription.

Keep the change.

I just wish there was as much action and groups here in L.A. as there is in S.F.

Thank you very much.

D.H., Santa Monica, CA.

Anarchist at heart

Greetings fellow Anarchists!

I found your address in issue No.8 of *Reality Now*, and I was excited to learn that there is an anarchist league in Missouri.

I have been an anarchist at heart for all of my life, but have never really been associated with any league or community because of a general distrust of "organizations." However, I have come to realize that a league does not always necessarily degenerate into a hierarchical organization. Further, it now seems to me that having like-minded allies would increase my effectiveness, and that perhaps I could be an asset to the movement through contact with others.

We would like to thank the following for helping to keep this child hungry



Sainsbury's.



BARCLAYS



Midland
The Listening Bank

UNILEVER



NatWest
The Action Bank



"Hunger" is a registered product of multinational corporations, operating in conjunction with all governments.

By Attack International (BM 6577, London WC1N 3XX, England).



As you no doubt noted from my return address, I am a Missouri state prisoner. I believe that the defeat of this corrupt capitalist society and its vicious sub-systems (such as the prison industry) will come only as the consequences of direct action. However, direct action is not always without sacrifices (especially when we make mistakes), and I am now under a forty-five year sentence for aiding a prisoner to escape, armed criminal action, flourishing a deadly weapon, and possession of an illegal firearm. Coincidentally, the taking away of a prisoner from the cops occurred in Columbia in December, 1985. I have a ridiculously long sentence, but it is only to be expected that a corrupt state wishing to maintain the *status quo* would react so severely to any resistance.

I have been in solitary confinement since October, 1986; first at the Missouri State Penitentiary and now here. They call the unit "Special Management Facility" and "Special Management Unit," but solitary is solitary. This extended lock-up is partially for two alleged escape attempts and one alleged escape, but it is more a result of my extensive fight against the state with its own tools of laws and courts.

I have won six court actions in the past 2½ years, and have created havoc with a dozen or so others. Needless to say, the rage against me for daring to fight, knows no bounds. Besides long term solitary confinement, prison officials have beaten me, tried me on false charges (I won at trial without a lawyer), destroyed my mail, paid prisoners to stab me, and just generally harassed me. What is funny, is that the more they harass me, the more lawsuits I file!

I'm really not sure just how I may be of assistance to C.A.L., but perhaps my knowledge of litigation and the "just-us" and prison systems could be useful. I would enjoy entering a dialogue with any and all anarchists to search for ways in which I may be of use.

I hope to subscribe to your journal, but must wait until next month. The prison only gives us \$3 each month, and I spent this month's on stamps and envelopes. I look forward to learning of anarchy's progress in this state.

In solidarity,
Rory D. Nitcher W/42726 3B-36
Potosi Correctional Center
Rt.2, Box 2222
Mineral Point, MO. 63660

[Note: Subscriptions to *Anarchy* are free to prisoners upon request.]

Sexism, homophobia and racism

The 1989 Continental Anarchist Gathering in San Francisco raised some very serious questions as to the direction and current standing of the Anarchist "movement" in North America. A lot of issues came to the forefront that disrupted the Gathering and fragmented in people's minds to the point of threatening to dissolve what little cohesion was assumed to exist. The major issues that I saw that fit this description were

sexism, homophobia, and racism, the issues chosen in Philadelphia to be focal points of this year's Gathering. They were with a vengeance. The fact that these issues were such areas of controversy, disappointment, and frustration for a lot of people is indicative of a general condition of the Anarchist "movement" in North America which has (as far as I know) escaped a fundamental assessment.

The people that came to the S.F. Gathering were by no means a homogenous group, but there are definitely characteristics of the group as a whole which need to be looked at. I think one of the most prominent and fundamental of these can be approached by a careful look at the term "Anarchist movement." Are we a movement? Perhaps. If so, what are our goals and what exactly are we doing to bring them about? I am sure there would be many commonalities in the answers to the last two questions, as well as many differences. They speak to something else as well, though, and that is the infancy of this Anarchy thing here in North America, especially on a practical, everyday level of perception and interaction. It is very much characteristic of the North American lifestyle that there is a lack of historical continuity in anything, and the Anarchist movement is no exception. I mean this as a feeling that there is a her-story, an underlying unity outside of intellectual acknowledgement.

This certainly is not true of everyone, but it seems many people come to call themselves anarchists out of a powerful intuition that our current lifestyle here in North America is fundamentally wrong. Many of these people are young and recoil from what they see as an authoritarian system of domination and power which promises a meaningless future. This realization is a good process, but we need to see how it affects and influences our gatherings and this entity we call a "movement." It is important when doing this that we focus on practical, everyday behavior and interaction as a basis for our politics.

We all face devastating socialization and brainwashing in our lives which fragments us and creates within us the alienation and barriers that in turn reinforce the whole stinking system of domination. That is why we must address these issues, these ways in which domination manifests itself in ourselves, such as sexism, homophobia, and racism, as aspects of our personalities and not only as some evil out-there. It seems to me that the best way to do this is by real and practical interaction with our immediate communities. This strengthens us personally by grounding our theories, feelings, and intuitions to a process of real interaction, change and development. And it gives us continuity; it takes us out of specifically anarchist groups and enlarges our perspectives and abilities to act effectively. As we attempt this interaction we must be aware of our own behavior, how the dominant ideologies operate in us daily, every time we look at or speak to another person. We must realize that living in the "belly of the beast" has damaged us. And then we

must deal with it. I feel that only when this process begins can effective mass action by anarchists take place, be it gatherings or street actions.

This Gathering caused me to confront a lot of my own sexism and homophobia, making me painfully aware of a lot of things that I do that I shouldn't and things that I don't do that I should. And I realize the way to overcome them is to interact consciously, to do something different from my normal behavior, no matter how hard it may seem or though I might fail quite miserably at times. I think a lot of this kind of work must go on before we should come together as a large group again. This is why I support regional Gatherings, which can focus on local, more specific issues. At regional Gatherings anarchists could come together to share ideas, skills, and experiences from a particular area while still maintaining their focus on practical community interaction. This could help ground our work as anarchists to more immediate issues in our communities such as racism,

homophobia, sexism, the environment, etc.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the incredible amounts of work the host group does to prepare for a continental Gathering. I think the structure of the Gatherings needs to be changed so that one small group does not end up taking on monumental amounts of work. Workshops and events could be structured and planned by various groups around the continent and then coordinated by the host group. Good communication is the key here, which a continental paper would help facilitate.

I want to add that I do not hold an entirely negative view of the Gathering. I learned a lot from it and met a lot of great people. I am focussing here on its problems and how to overcome them. Since we usually have only once a year (or once every two years now, perhaps) to come together, we need to be able to accomplish as much as we can and not have our energies wasted on frustrations and stress.

Dee Rail, Philadelphia, PA.

More letters on anarchy & religion

For those who remember the discussion of anarchy and religion that began in *Anarchy* #15, here are a couple letters which were somehow overlooked at that time and didn't get published. I apologize to those who wrote for the long delay in seeing their letters printed.—Lev

The authority of the ego

It is when you compartmentalize spiritual experience into a religious institution and/or ideology that the trouble usually begins. The act of compartmentalization is essentially an act of submitting to a function of the intellect that which needs to be as free as can be dreamed.

While *Anarchy* may claim to be devoid of spirituality, the essence of @narchy is in fact spiritual, and this essence is communicated throughout the publication. For where else could this desire of freedom, this dream of desire, emanate from if not the spirit of a living human? How could we even conceive such a dream without the faith that maybe it is possible to realize it? Certainly there is little in the realm of material and empirical experience to support such a desire. Why is it so difficult to explore the possibility that perhaps another realm, the realm of spirituality, does in fact exist, and that it exists within our flesh, and at the core of the anarchic desire.

The answer to this last question is to be found in the realm of the ego, that much maligned and celebrated aspect of the psyche that no one seems to deny the existence of. It is the ego that prevents spiritual exploration, for both positive and negative reasons. The positive reason is protection. To explore spirituality, to open up to such a realm, is to remove one's defenses. You become vulnerable, to the onslaughts of sharp-tongued cynics as well as the exploitation and distortion of your self by the organized religions which will twist your freedom into slavery, your wild experience of existence into a pathetic authority-worshipping

void. In a world where egoism runs rampant on both an individual as well as a mass level, it seems the natural thing to do, to keep your ego strong and resistant. To do anything else seems suicidal.

However, as long as your ego controls you you will never be free. You may be free from dogma, and think you are free from authority, but you have only replaced one authority for another. To do this is to give up your dream and your desire. You become another asshole anarchist helping to prevent anarchy from being realized. You create your own inner master-slave arrangement. You can burn down the cities but inside you will still be a slave.

Okay, so maybe you are ready to arm your desire. But are you ready to walk with it a ways?

J.F., Phoenicia, NY.

Lev responds: Spiritual contradictions

It seems odd that someone who is concerned about the compartmentalization of "spiritual experience" into religious institutions, so readily compartmentalizes experience itself into spiritual, material and empirical categories! What makes an experience spiritual, as opposed to material or empirical? None of these categories make any sense to me, since lived experience seems to me to be fundamentally beyond any such categorization.

It's also news to me that "the essence of anarchy is...spiritual." Only someone who compartmentalizes life into spiritual and material categories could come to

the conclusion that the desire for freedom could only "emanate from the spirit of a living human" rather than from the human being her or himself! Do we really need to explain this type of thing by imagining that ghosts live in bodies that would otherwise be just dead matter? Descartes would be proud of your unabashed dualism.

Although you never explain what you mean by the word "ego," I think you are correct to point out that any time an aspect of the "psyche" is reified and set up as an authority over the rest of one's existence, one's ability to live freely is diminished accordingly. However, it would seem fairly obvious that the reification of the "ego" as a thing in itself is perfectly akin to the reification of spirits as things in themselves. Those who fetishize the "ego" are like those who fetishize "spirits." They're too afraid to face their lives directly without preconceived, rigid categories of interpretation—without doctrine & dogma in other words. Those of us who are serious about freedom might play with such concepts, but we have no reason to fetishize them so.

Neither rational nor irrational

Dear Anarchy,

In response to your invitation to readers to continue the Anarchy/Religion dialogue in issue #15, I offer a few observations on the grounds of the argument—and how they have shifted. To warn and clarify, I should state that I am a Hasidic Rebbe, and student of Christianity and Islam as well; it is from the perspective of these three "Abrahamic" religions that I view and define religion.

Woodworth in "Anarchism and religion" makes a number of telling points (such as the sexism and opportunism of the well-known, organized religions) but only advances from criticism to critique when he contrasts human freedom and opposition to all authority as ideals to the unavoidable obligations of a believer. Anarchy, which tolerates no master, a *fortiori* can tolerate no God. Any candid and well informed religious person must admit that human freedom, however desirable, occurs for him as a mere by-product of obedience to God, never as a goal in itself.

Kinney's response, "Religion and anarchism," makes excuses not defenses. The religious are described as useful allies, the definition of religion is muddled, but Woodworth's central and incontrovertible point is not addressed.

Lev Chernyi's first letter and article attack mainly the "conceptually mystifying terms" Kinney uses, but do not press Woodworth's advantage. Though Kinney has described his faith as belief in "an all-encompassing sentient consciousness," which necessarily entails the subordination of self in a manner irreconcilable to anarchy, Chernyi lets pass what should appear to an anarchist as a most

Continued on next page

Letters

Neither rational nor irrational

Continued from page 25

striking--anddamaging--admission, I think because he's more interested in pressing his own definition of religion (as dualism) than in seeking how religion relates to anarchy. (Dualism, it later becomes clear is for Chernyi a way of expressing religion's acknowledgement of a non-rational or super-sensible realm, and so constitutes an elaboration rather than a development of the old "supernatural" criticism.) By now the debate has shifted--to the utter incomprehension of Kinney who continues to generate a smoke-screen of lame excuses and murky thought, to a debate opposing the rational/scientific approach to the instinctive/irrational/religious--for Chernyi openly states that atheism's necessary relation to anarchism is in its characteristic of "systematic unbelief"--i.e. its methodology of scepticism and valuation of rational integrity, which is to say, its scientific character.

Were Kinney either clear-headed or honest, he might have begun by acknowledging the irreconcilability of religion and anarchism, and asked the questions anarchism has the hardest time answering:

1) What is there to keep an absolute doctrine of freedom and opposition to authority from being interpreted as utter license for selfishness?

2) Since anarchy defines itself as freedom from rather than freedom for something, how can an anarchist use his value-system to reliably decide what's best for himself?

I am familiar with the readiest answers to these questions but find them no more satisfactory than religion's claims to foster freedom. Anarchy does not lead to order. That's, in brief, the decisive critique of anarchy. Just as much as want of freedom is a decisive critique of religion.

One cannot be religious and an anarchist if one is to be logically consistent--but why should one be? The success of such anti-authoritarian organizations as the Society of Friends, the Moorish Orthodox Church, and Alcoholics Anonymous--and their stainless moral records--shows that something chaotic, contradictory and in the best sense anarchic comes of the mixture. Reality seems to be neither entirely rational nor entirely irrational; a mixed and practical approach, incorporating the strengths of religion (irrational optimism and unbridled imagination) and of science (scepticism and rational integrity) seems effective.

So Chernyi's point, the contradiction between reason and the irrational played out in religion vs. anarchy, is, as I hope to have indicated with the above examples, a contradiction more insoluble in theory than in practice. As an additional illustration, in legends of the Jews it is told:

There were many worlds created and scrapped before ours, and even this one wouldn't have lasted had God ruled it--as he'd planned--with the absolute equity

of physics. For, had it been a universe of matter and unflinching rationality, a world of pure justice, it would have produced nothing nicer than rock crystals, or, at best, insects who worshipped evil angels.

Therefore, God introduced something completely irrational.

"Who's your friend?" hooted the angels, "She's nuts!"

"I call her Mercy," explained the Holy One. "If creation is left up to male spirits I'll be running an ant farm."

The anecdote, though obviously favorable to religion, could as well be told to push rationality, for, had the world been created by

Mercy, without admixture of reason or logic, we'd be living in the definitionless vague realm one glimpses in a new age gathering or an impressionist painting.

Shalom,
J.R., the Chelmer Rebbe,
Providence, R.I.

[I'd like to point out a couple errors in this letter that reduce the accuracy of its interpretations a great deal. My profession of "unbelief" equally applies to the metaphysical fantasies of rationalism and science, as to those of religions--therefore my "scepticism" is hardly "scientific"! Nor has it ever been my intention to defend Reason as such, or any alleged rationality of "Reality."--Lev]

Letters on the children's sexuality issue

Introduction

It looks like my announcement (in our August-October double issue) that "we haven't begun receiving the deluge of reactionary denunciations of our special issue on children's sexuality that I feared we might" has continued to hold. However, as I expected, there have been a few objections to this issue (and one Baltimore bookstore banned us as a result) along with the letters of appreciation. I would have been extremely surprised if no one had written in to complain! These are the letters, pro and con, that we've received so far. Others are welcome to contribute to this discussion in upcoming issues. --Lev

Normalcy bias

Richard Walters' article ("Save the children," appearing in the May-July 1989/#19 issue) gave an excellent and sound explanation of a child's natural sexuality, but seemed to be written with a psychotherapeutic normalcy bias; in trying to convince people that early sexual experimentation would create a normal, healthy person, he uses examples such as the Mangaia for whom "group sex, homosexuality and the use of sex devices are unknown." Furthermore, he argues that sexually free children would make better parents, have better marriages or "will then emerge with a coherent self, as an individual who can make a real commitment to another," in an obvious attempt to reach a liberal at best readership. Later he goes on to blast sex-educators as "blatantly ignoring the sexuality of single people, homosexuals, and others who do not fit the nuclear family mold" while concentrating on heterosexuality himself.

While Walters' article was a generally good source of information, there were a few problems. One is that he lays the responsibility of practicing birth control methods primarily on the woman. Either birth is the exclusive domain of the woman, or it isn't; in the case of the former, the fact that "every new unwed mother means one more broken family" would be totally insignificant. Why lament the broken family and complain about conformist education in the same article?

And finally, I totally disagree with the statement that "adult-

child sex, including incest, always involves a betrayal of trust and is destructive of the child's sense of self." It is the use of power, sexual or not, that is destructive of a child's sense of self. Most children, when acting out of sheer impulse, will choose to have full-blown sexual relations with other young people, but if they choose elders... while sensual touch with parents is OK by Walters, sex itself is destructive? My question is, where does the sensual end and the sex begin? (What a vagino-penile-centric society we live in.)

Laure A., Tver, U.S.S.R.

Why a special issue?

I'm writing this letter in response to issue #19 of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* (a publication of the Columbia Anarchist League), an issue which had as its theme "Children's Sexuality."

Let me first say that I'm happy that adults are taking an interest in children and youth, and that I was happy to learn that the C.A.L. was planning a special issue around children's sexuality.

Once I read the "special issue," however, I was disappointed and I'm writing this to explain why.

Imagine receiving a magazine put out entirely by men, yet claiming to deal with "Female Sexuality." Wouldn't you be suspicious? Now, now, I said to myself, it may not be their fault: maybe they couldn't get in touch with any teenagers or children, maybe the adults deal with the issues in an intelligent and non-adultish manner...but after reading the entire issue, I was not reassured.

You see, I have little objection to adults writing about children, per se, although I would never agree with Laure A.'s ridiculous statement that she will always be a child "at heart" (Can she go to jail for fucking with an adult? Can she be locked up for not attending school? Does she have to live with her parents AND obey their rules? If she goes on vacation without telling Mommy or Daddy will the F.B.I., the Missing Children's Network and all of the other pricks start hunting her down?)

I do, however, object to adults monopolizing a discussion

about children's and adolescent's sexuality, and then decorating the discussion with gross generalizations (which often have oppressive consequences): "Adult-child sex, including incest, always involves a betrayal of trust and is destructive of the child's sense of self." (p.18) This attitude is used as an excuse to create exactly the type of legislation that the rest of the 'zine decries: age of consent legislation criminalizing some children's desires.

"In Sweden...every child receives adequate sexual instruction," "No Dutch teenager would consider having sex without birth control," etc. Scandinavia may be home to some very interesting children's liberation projects, but it is wrong to pretend that children and adolescents are not being sexually repressed and oppressed in Sweden, Holland and other such countries. Just because the U.S.A. is so fucked up is no reason to gloss over the problems facing youth and children in other countries.

And then there is the clear absence of any discussion of children's and adolescent's sexual oppression: genital mutilation, rape, etc. These issues affect children's and youth's lives at least as much as Age of Consent laws, and stem from the same root (who is more protective of his daughter's innocence than the incestuous father?). Did you only want to show sexuality as a pure and good force which was being repressed by the System, and not as a weapon that the System uses to oppress us with?

And then there is the entire question of why did you decide to do a special issue of Children's Sexuality, having never done a special issue on any other aspect of Childhood or Adolescence? I don't know what the situation is in your area, but if it's anything like the situation in most of North America children's sexuality is not the only, or even single most pressing issue that children's and youth liberation groups are dealing with. Forced schooling, Nazi skinheads, Ritalin, ageism in the various lefty movements (including the anarchist movement), the exclusion from work and violence against children are just a few of the many issues that children and teenagers are forced to deal with across North America. Although the majority of youth and children may include Age of Consent laws and other forms of sexual repression amongst the issues that affect them most, I doubt that it would be such a priority to deserve a special issue of your magazine to the exclusion of all other issues. I am 100% in favour of a discussion of Children's Sexuality, but as Lev Chernyi says, sexuality is intimately connected with politics, the economy, culture and social institutions. C.A.L.'s discussion of the one without the others simply further fetishizes sex.

In closing, the Children's Sexuality issue of *Anarchy* struck me as an attempt for a bunch of adult anarchists to score brownie points by being "controversial," "risqué," etc. by dealing with an emotionally charged issue. I did not get the impression that the issue dealt with Children's Sexual-

ity out of any genuine interest in Children's Liberation. If the C.A.L. is really interested in Children's Lib. enough to devote entire issues to the subject, may I suggest that you ask some children or youth what they think should be addressed? I think that the list of issues that we as child and youth liberationists are concerned with far surpasses what *Anarchy* #19 chooses to deal with.

Syndicat des Eleves
2035 Boul. St-Laurent
Montréal, Québec H2X 2T3
Canada

Lev replies:

Only a beginning

I really don't understand what your problem is with our special issue. We never claimed to be providing comprehensive coverage of the theme of children's liberation in this issue! Yet you act as if we're engaged in some sort of conspiracy to short-change children's liberation by reducing it to a question of children's sexuality.

We published our special issue on this subject for several reasons. In the first place, we had several essays relating directly to the subject which we felt would be worthwhile publishing (and this isn't a negligible factor--it's awfully hard to put out an issue on any subject without any material on that subject at hand!). In the second place we felt that it is an issue that is highly repressed, not just by conservatives, but by too many "radicals" as well. And further, there has been an increasingly repressive "witchhunt" atmosphere created in the last few years in the U.S. around the ideas "child molestation," circles of "ritual child abuse" and the whole hysterical "survivors of incest" phenomenon. In the latter, unhappy and disturbed people have often been encouraged to virtually make up incidents of alleged abuse by their parents or relatives which are suddenly and conveniently "found" out decades later in order to explain problems that could probably benefit from far more proximal explanations! It should be very obvious that the current hysteria around all three of these phenomena is highly related to the massive repression of the reality of children's sexuality. Yet I've hardly seen this point made anywhere at all. If few others are willing to take a public stand on this highly important subject, it becomes that much more significant that we have. (Undoubtedly I have to add the disclaimer that what I've just said doesn't mean that I think that children are never molested against their wills, nor that ritual child abuse has never happened, nor that there are no survivors of incest. It only means that these interrelated phenomena have been blown up all out of proportion and used by repressive social/political forces for their own ends. The result is the widespread confusion & mystification of people about the actual sources of their misery.)

As far as the idea of having children write about their own





Letters

sexuality is concerned, it would ideally be nice, but in practice it is obvious that there are few enough competent adult anarchist writers. Finding anarchist children writers has proven somewhat beyond our present abilities. Even most of the adults we asked to write for this issue (including yourself) didn't contribute. Placing such strange constraints on the sources of our material would only mean that we wouldn't be able to talk about this issue, and I see no great virtue in that. After all we adults were all children once, and can certainly write about the subject with some credibility. This has nothing very logical to do with your imagined situation of a group of men attempting to speak about female sexuality without women participating. And, anyway, even the subject of female sexuality remains beyond the private domain of women. Many men experience aspects of women's sexuality which they experience, just as many women experience aspects of men's sexuality. The whole idea that **only** (or even **mainly**) certified members of oppressed groups have some sort of right to speak about their situation leads to ludicrous restraints on our own ability to speak about our lives in relation to others' lives. One might as well demand that a Salvadoran write any articles on the U.S. war against the Sal-

vadoran people, or that a Polar Bear write any articles on the exploitation of hyperborean fauna.

And, finally, as far as the "gross generalizations" you speak of are concerned, I do not agree with them either. But we cannot guarantee that every article we print will be 100% perfect. Every writer has her or his lapses. We printed these essays because we agreed with them in general or because we thought that they made highly important points in general, not because we agreed with every word in every one. You're welcome to object to particular ideas in articles, but please don't attribute them all to the publishers of this magazine.

We hope that our excursion into the realm of children's sexuality is only the beginning of a more extended exploration of issues relating to children's liberation, just as it is only one step in our already ongoing exploration of sexuality.

Pedophilia troubling

Anarchy,

Please enter my one year subscription (in brown envelopes). I have enclosed a check for \$10 to cover the cost.

While I do not consider myself to be an anarchist--rather, I am a rabid capitalist--I do feel it is

essential to explore all points of view. However, parts of your issue covering pedophilia (#19, May-June, 1989) greatly disturbed me.

As a survivor of incest, I found your seeming endorsement of pedophilia troubling. The article, "Sexuality and the mystique of innocence," for example, contained numerous inaccuracies, making it nothing more than a meager rationalization for the sexual abuse of children. Anarchists apparently do not believe in protecting the defenseless and the powerless in society. Is anarchism actually just the notion of every man for himself at the exclusion of all else? Is it the position of the editorial staff of *Anarchy* that children should simply be seen as commodities, nothing more than products to be used for the dysfunctional "pleasure" or sex addicts? I hope not. If, however, this is the case, please return my subscription fee. I can't support addicts pursuing their fix.

Otherwise, you publish a provocative newspaper I look forward to reading in the coming year. Continue to upset and challenge me.

Sincerely,
D.M., Boulder, CO.

A response from Lev: Child love is troubling?

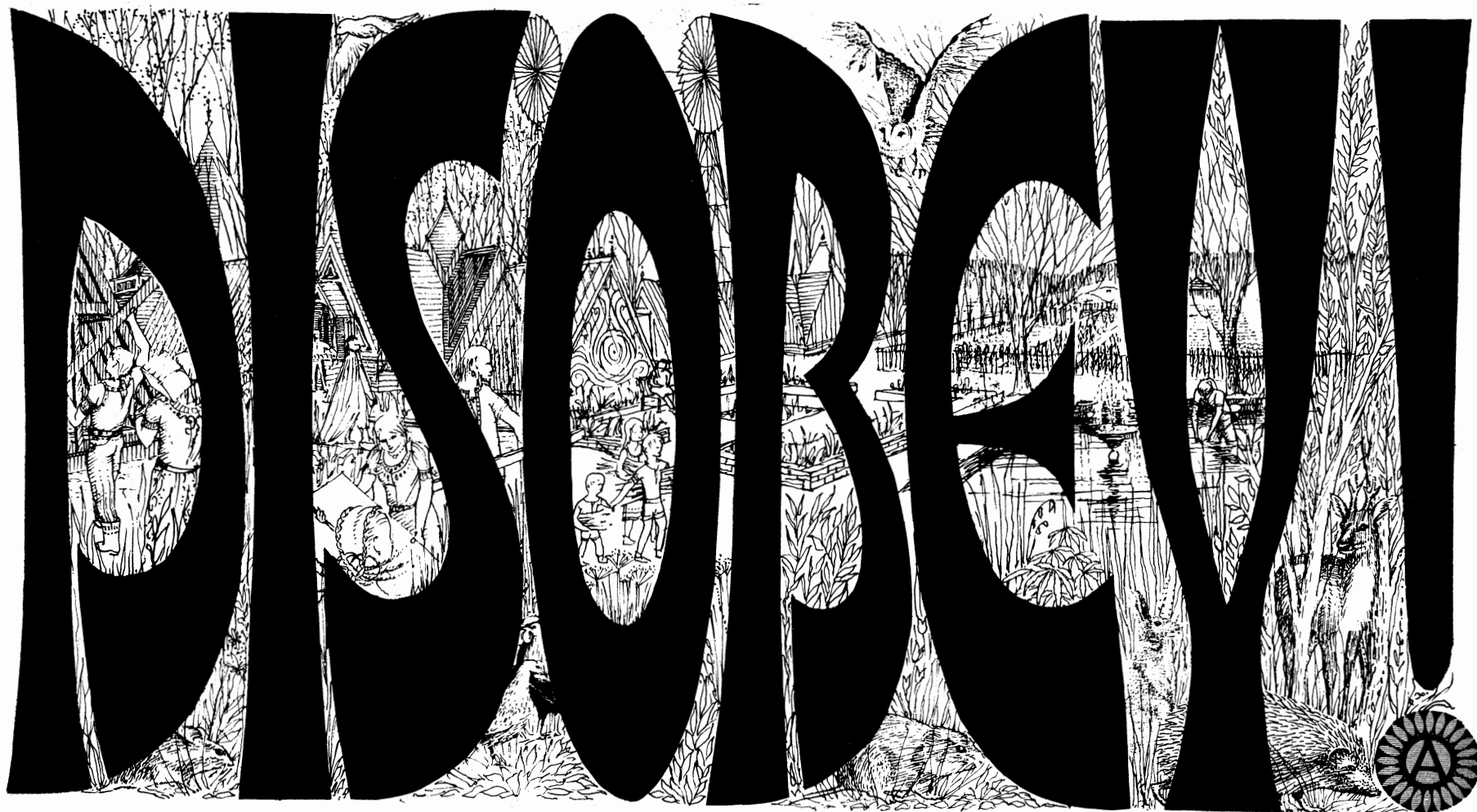
I had to re-read Laure A.'s essay on "Sexuality and the mys-

tique of innocence" in order to try to figure out just what it was that might have bothered you so much about her specific article. However, I wasn't able to find anything that I would think of as especially "inaccurate" there. I didn't find any "rationalization(s)" for the sexual abuse of children, nor did I find any references implying that "children should be seen as commodities" anywhere in the issue of *Anarchy* in question! There seem to be a few misconceptions involved in the fears you express.

In actual fact, Laure aims her criticisms at the vast majority of adults in our society who are frantically worried about the "sexual abuse" of children by "pedophiles" at the same time that they themselves are abusing children in a multitude of other ways which are so habitual they aren't even noticed. Instead, in the guise of "protecting" their innocence, children are sexually abused constantly by parents who are afraid of children's sexuality and punish their natural sexual explorations. Yet this type of (anti-)sexual abuse is almost never addressed, much less effectively countered. Laure's plea seems to be that claims to protecting children from certain types of sexual abuse don't excuse the practice of other types of child abuse. For Laure, the generalized climate of fear, taboos, and abuse that most chil-

dren in our society are "brought up" within ought to be real target for criticism.

Even more interesting to me is the rather schizophrenic view of capitalism you express. On the one hand you say you are a "rabid capitalist"--and thus must be a "rabid" defender of the transformation of human relationships into relationships of commodity-exchange. While on the other hand you are worried that "the editorial staff of *Anarchy*" (a journal which is explicitly opposed to capitalism and its reduction of human relationships to the exchange of commodities) thinks "children should simply be seen as commodities"! It seems obvious that nothing could be further from the truth. In this situation, your projection of the qualities usually associated with capitalism (the atomistic "notion of every man for himself at the exclusion of all else" and the treatment of people as "commodities") onto a journal which is explicitly critical of capitalism, social atomism and commodity-relationships can only appear rather strange to us. Much more remains to be said on this whole topic. And we shall return to it in future issues.



THEIR POWER COMES FROM OUR OBEDIENCE

Green Anarchism: We'll fight to take back the land for autonomous, self-sufficient villages. We reject the theory of 'Division of Labour' which justifies exploiting the peasant.

Letters

Uncommon desires

Hello,

Your last issue on child sexuality [*Anarchy* #19] was excellent. Two addresses worth mentioning in this regard are the North American Man/Boy Love Association, a feisty political and educational organization that supports consensual relationships between men and boys. Their monthly *Bulletin* is intelligent and informative, and entirely legal. It's available at many gay book stores around the U.S. For info., write N.A.M.B.L.A., POB 174, Midtown Station, New York, NY. 10018.

Uncommon Desires is an excellent occasional publication for girl lovers. It is all textual, and edited by a very reputable person, so poses no legal problems. Their third issue is available for \$5 (money order with no payee designated, or cash). Write to n.s.aristoff, POB 2377, New York, NY. 10185.

Please enter my sub to *Anarchy*...and consider the extra \$2 a donation.

B.A., Boston, MA.

Great theme

Lev,

Here's \$ for #18. #19 great theme. As a father I've been looking into alternative ways of raising our kid. Been reading Reich, etc. Home schooling. Do something on that.

M.M., Allston, MA.

Vexed to hell

Dear Lev,

I found your issue of *Anarchy* on children's sexuality to be somewhat offensive in nature and to pose an ominous patronizing tendency that threatens the healthy emotional, sexual development of children. In the current climate of adult perpetrators *versus* child victim your views sided with the accused and the falsely accused rather than the deep personal pain endured by the actual victims--children. Your issue was very vague in assessing the age of children and it should come as no surprise that the age of 59 percent of the sexual abuse victims in Oregon in 1986 was under 10 years old. I'm vexed to hell to understand why you advocated a widening of the extensive liberties adults already have secured from children without any consideration of their age.

The position of your paper seemed to spring from a doctrine of *unrepressed desire* rather than a deliberate attempt to formulate the best interests of children. And in permitting the sexual interaction of children with adults you have crossed the line between nurturing sensuality and manipulative sexuality. Nurturing touching means hugs and embraces and excludes fondling and caressing erotically. Sexual relations between an adult and a child are essentially an adult manipulation of the child's sensual curiosity. First, the kid does not have the means to stop the relationship. The adult holds the power over the child because the adult

has the necessary experience to influence the relationship in any way. Coercion is involved since the child cannot stop the contact without rupturing his or her self-image, self-esteem, and self-respect. Just as important is the ambiguity of consent in any child-adult relationship. The child lacks the cognitive development and verbal skill to consent to sexual interaction in a way which reflects his or her true will, free of adult manipulation. In other words, for the child the touching that the adult regards as sexual is a *game* in which the rules are always controlled by the adult. The long-term consequences for the child always involve harm to his or her self-confidence and sense of security.

The stories of children enjoying adult sex are invalid in their very partial consideration of the relationship. The full impact on the child's psyche requires years to unfold and cannot be sanctioned by a few words of willful complicity. Children need to explore their sexuality with other children of similar development and verbal ability. In this way children may be empowered without the accompanying dependency on adult approval.

S.G., Portland, OR.

Lev answers:

Who are you to define children's sexuality?

I would speculate that the basic attitude you've expressed in your letter is fairly widespread. In fact, it seems quite typical of most "well-meaning," institutionally-educated liberals and "radicals." Unfortunately, however, it contains several unexamined assumptions which reveal the extent to which our culture's anti-sexual and anti-sensual socialization process has crippled even attempts at radical thinking and opposition.

The sexuality of almost every person in our society has been thoroughly repressed and deformed since birth. Each of us has learned to cope (however dysfunctionally) with this fact in our own ways--usually by deeply burying the feelings we experienced as our sensual/sexual desires were suppressed when we were fairly defenseless children. We have been forced to bury these feelings and rationalize this extremely repressed (and thus often explosively felt) sexuality to ourselves. Because we have had our sexuality crippled in this way it is understandably hard for us to consciously examine the effects this all-pervasive social history has had on our thoughts, feelings and impulses in this area. This is probably why even the *discussion* of children's sexuality raises such an emotional reaction in most people. For these people even imagining sexuality in children means that they must begin challenging their own deeply-rooted sexual repression. After all, how can we admit that children really *are* sexual without beginning to admit to ourselves that our own sexuality as children was stolen from us (or at least severely distorted), and that the

scars of this theft are still with us. Given this highly unhealthy situation, it is not surprising that you (and most others) refuse to confront the pervasive reality of **unhealthy sexual repression**, preferring to focus only on the secondary (though certainly significant) problem of the adult sexual exploitation of children. In doing so, you apparently assume that because highly-repressed sexuality is the statistical norm in our society it must also be "normal" in the sense of "healthy" and thus unexceptionable. But who are you to impose your own relatively unexamined prejudices on all the rest of the children and adults of the world? Why should everyone conform to your dubiously repressive notion of "healthy" sexuality?

One need only observe the awkward, halting, and often pathetic gestures which pass for "sensual" or "sexual" expression in our communities (much less in ourselves!), to see how miserable our sexuality has become. One need only note how narrowly-defined in theory--yet ubiquitous in our personal experience--sexuality really is to see that the attempts made to squelch this fundamental animal lust have totally misconstrued its nature and limits.

Once one leaves the narrow confines demanded by your acceptance of sexual repression it no longer makes sense to oppose "the accused and the falsely accused" to the "actual victims--children." Surely even you can see that there are victims all around in our present situation. That we are siding with **both non-exploitative adults and children--who are all victims** of the dominant ideologies of sexual repression--ought to be equally obvious. The statistics you give are really meaningless to me, given the lack of any accompanying explanation of the definition of "sexual abuse" used, the source of the figures, or the methodology employed. Surely you ought to know as well as any other anarchist that statistics

can be used to prove just about anything in the hands of ideologues--and they usually are! Sex-scared bureaucrats can make whole careers out of redefining sexual abuse in ways that include quite natural and non-exploitative touching (caressing of genitals, etc.) in order to whip up statistics about how perverted we all are and how necessary a repressive police-state is.

Your own bizarre definitions of "nurturing sensuality" and "manipulative sexuality" only show how effective your own repressive conditioning has been. Only those prudes who have a mighty fear of sexuality think that the "fondling and caressing erotically" of children by adults could never be "nurturing touching"! This belief of yours shows at the very least that you're completely ignorant of cross-cultural anthropological research on this subject. And even more it demonstrates how closed-minded you are about even considering the possibility that adult-child sexuality can be a beautiful experience for both parties.

The issue of consent is always going to be tricky where the relationships of children and adults are concerned, but never more so than in our own extremely repressive culture. Currently, it's quite okay in our culture for most parents to physically assault and batter "their" children (as long as no lasting scars or broken bones are created), but it's a major crime to touch a child's genitals without a convincing excuse that one didn't do it to create any good feelings (one way or the other). How could any anarchist ever defend the values of a culture with such a sick double standard: that sexuality outside of certain narrow limits is always bad regardless of circumstances, intentions, etc., while violence against relatively defenseless children is fine? Give us all a break from your moralistic whining, and try critically **thinking** about all this, please.

In the hands of the child

Dear C.A.L.,

Hello! Hope all is well! I'm fine...I just got your anarchist journal (children's sexuality issue) last week....

This issue was very good in all ways except the statement you made in it that there cannot be a sexual relationship between parent & child because it will always lead to coercion. I don't see how you can be so positive in this statement when you are an adult & not a child. I feel that there can be a positive experience between child/parent; one that is devoid of coercion, violence & exploitation. I think we must leave that decision in the hands of the child and not make such a general statement. If we (anarchist) adults start deciding what is good for the children then we are just as bad as the ignorant imperialistic bastards who say **all** sex is wrong. See what I'm getting at?

Oh well until next time,

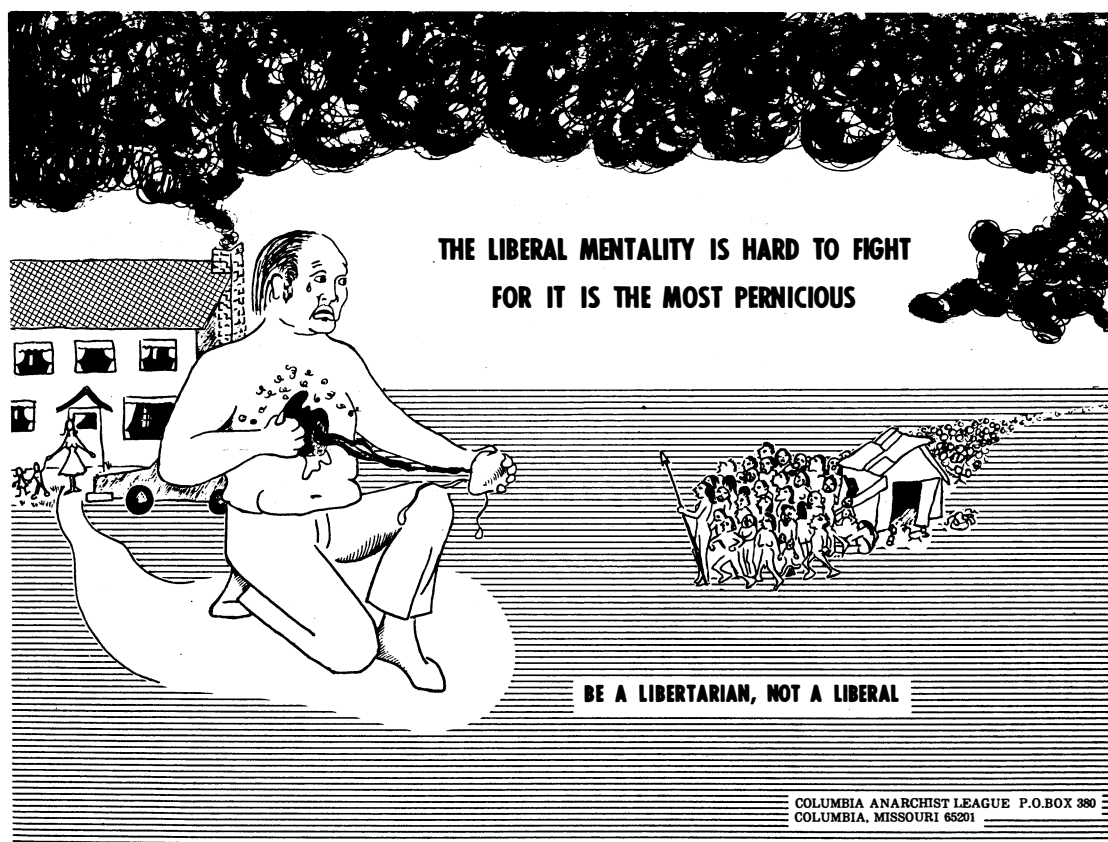
In solidarity,

D.M., Jefferson City, MO.

So what do we do?

Dear Lev,

In "Save the children" (issue #19) Richard Walters presents an ethical dilemma of what to say and do if a child approaches a parent with a request to fulfill their "erotic desires." Unfortunately, Walters doesn't explore this important issue with his readers. He cites a study where a 2 year-old girl asks, "Daddy would you kiss my clitoris?" The word "clitoris" is not in most 2 year-old's vocabularies. Perhaps the child lives in an environment where she has learned the correct anatomical names for all her body parts. She has not been punished for self-clitoral stimulation or told masturbation is ugly & awful. If this is the situation then it would seem natural for this child to approach a member of her support system--someone who loves and cares for her--and ask that question. Walters





does not tell us the father's response which is important to know. If the father grants his daughter's desire, then society would say this act is one of sexual child abuse. If he doesn't, the child, maybe for the first time, has learned there is something wrong and bad about "erotic desires."

I am a parent of several children. I haven't had to deal with this situation but Walters' article has made me think of what I would say if it ever does become an issue.

If any of my children were to approach me with a similar request I would have to tell them, "No, honey, I can't do this for you." My task now is to explain social alienation, custody laws & prison to them on their level. Hopefully, I could do this without giving them an impression that their sexual expression is nasty.

So what do we do? I know I'm not alone in this. I welcome others, especially parents, to dialogue with me in this matter of parent/child ethics.

With much love for my children,
C.K., Columbia, MO.

Enlightening even

Dear Lev,

Many thanks for the latest issue of *Anarchy*. As always, a good read. Your "Anarchy and spirituality" series combined with the "Children's sexuality" articles in #19 make yours one of the most interesting pubs around. I'll admit I cringed when I opened #19 and saw "child" and "sex." Mass media conditioning I'm sure. My first thought was: "First religion, now pedophilia, is there no perversion these people will not examine!?" Needless to say, the articles included were all excellent, enlightening even, in a subject no one else has touched (no pun intended)....

M.K., San Francisco, CA.

Every child is their investment

Dear Lev,

...more articles on children's freedoms and sexuality. as a father i read these with much interest. also been reading lots of reich's works dealing with armoring and his emotional plague. i believe like him that unless our children are brought up without the repression and guilt we have all experienced, then there will never be a revolution or any worth. especially not one of a decentralized anarchy. the family unit that pushes itself into adopting unorthodox procedures of child raising puts itself in danger from the state. childless radicals can not appreciate the fear that comes from raising your child in a way that can be construed as being harmful to the child, even when you know it is the opposite. the state demonstrates all too often that they are willing to take claim on children, as if they own them. they will take your kids away from you faster than they would lock you up for publishing or distributing revolutionary periodicals.

just tonight police have charg-

ed a local woman with murder for killing her unborn foetus after she crashed into a tree drunk. this scares me. how deep are they going to pry into our children? granted that woman should not have been drinking while pregnant, but i am sure she did not mean to kill her baby. the foetus has developed new found rights

that, in my eyes, point to state ownership of that child for purposes of making it a workable cog in the network of labor. they feel every child is their investment. like Rumpelstiltskin they'll come collecting.

best wishes,
M.M., Allston, MA.

Letters on the continental newspaper project

An open letter to the anarchist movement

Dear comrades,

On November 24-25, 1989 I was able to attend the Continental Newspaper Conference in Chicago. I was originally a very enthusiastic supporter of this project and still endorse the concept of a continental anarchist newspaper. However, after attending this particular conference, I have serious doubts as to whether the newspaper launched in Chicago over Thanksgiving weekend is the sort of publication that should serve as any sort of organ for the North American anarchist movement. Furthermore, a number of very disturbing events transpired which I believe merit considerable attention and discussion within our movement.

Upon arriving at the conference site, I was able to witness the disbanding of what appeared to be a fraction meeting involving members of the Revolutionary Socialist League. I knew beforehand that the R.S.L. was to be a significant contributor to the newspaper project. The R.S.L., a former Trotskyist sect, has certainly taken some bizarre positions in the past such as supporting an independent black nationalist state in the southern portion of the United States and the government of Libya—definitely non-anarchist positions if there ever were any. Nonetheless, I was willing to accept at face value the R.S.L.'s current denunciations of Marxist-Leninist ideology and supported their involvement in the project as one of many anarchist groups who were to participate. However, as the conference began and the delegates introduced themselves, no less than twenty of the forty-seven people in attendance described themselves as former members of the R.S.L. Considering that another four were from the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League of Minneapolis, oriented towards fighting with the police in the streets, and at least five were associated with Hayday Anarchists of Chicago, the host group, it was apparent that the majority of the delegates represented three organizations which are known to be in close ideological affinity and collaboration with one another.

Soon it became obvious that these three groups were more or less voting as a bloc on all major decisions. The process being used was that of consensus where possible, otherwise simple majority. It was pointed out that R.S.L., R.A.B.L. and Hayday obviously had enough votes for a substantial

majority and that process should be amended where a three-quarters vote would be required for all major decisions. This proposal was, of course, rejected leaving way for R.S.L., R.A.B.L. and Hayday to dominate the entire conference.

Furthermore, a former Hayday associate informed me that there was a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the group to exclude at least two anarchist groups from the conference. (Another interesting anecdote: Apparently, the ultra-vanguardist International Socialist Organization held a program in Chicago a couple months ago on "The Politics of Anarchism" which was more or less a lengthy lecture by one of their members in which he thoroughly denounced anarchism. One Hayday member in attendance stood up after the program and stated that everything that was said about the "old" anarchism was true but that she represented the "new" anarchism and probably had "a lot in common" with the I.S.C. Intriguing, to say the least.)

The entire first day of the conference was devoted to the writing of the statement of principles. What should have taken less than an hour ended up dragging on until eleven o'clock in the evening. The resulting statement was actually more of a leftist manifesto and discusses everything but anarchism. Nothing is included concerning the principles of anarchism, the kind of society we hope to build or the means by which we hope to reach our goals. There are a grand total of about four sentences which mention the state, capitalism and the need for workers' struggle as a class. However, there are lengthy statements about racism, sexism, African-Americans and the "unique" oppression of youth. How the oppression of African-Americans and youth is any more special or unique than the oppression of women, gays and lesbians, old people, the physically challenged, left-handed people, etc. completely escapes me. It would seem that if we say that we as anarchists oppose all oppression it would follow that we oppose racism, sexism, ageism, etc.

As for the structure of the newspaper, it seemed as though it was decided beforehand that the production center would be located in the R.S.L.'s former office in New York with Chris. G. of R.A.B.L. as a paid facilitator. The voting process on these issues amounted to Politburo rubber-stamping of already arrived at decisions. Chris G. was constantly being referred to as the newspaper's "facilitator" even before he

Continued on next page

Text of the Love and Rage political statement

THE NEWSPAPER IS A MONTHLY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER INTENDED TO FOSTER REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN ACTIVISM IN NORTH AMERICA. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives.

Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation or it is nothing. We anticipate the constant and radical revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

THE NEWSPAPER IS REVOLUTIONARY. We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the emergence of a fighting movement as a step toward making the social revolution.

THE NEWSPAPER IS ANTI-STATIST. We oppose all states whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.

THE NEWSPAPER IS ANTI-CAPITALIST. We support efforts to overthrow all forms of class rule and state power. We support strikes and other forms of workers struggle for control of the means of production.

WE FIGHT AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY AND WORK FOR THE CREATION OF SOCIETIES THAT RESPECT CULTURAL DIVERSITY. We support the self-determination of Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans and other oppressed groups. We recognize the special oppression of Afro-Americans since slavery to the present and fight for liberation of African-Americans in the U.S. for self-determination. We fight the resurgence of anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism.

WE SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONALITIES OPPRESSED BY THE VARIOUS FORMS OF IMPERIALISM. We fight to get the U.S. out of Central America and Puerto Rico. We support the destruction of the Soviet Empire and the liberation of its peoples. We are for the destruction of apartheid, the I.M.F., World Bank, multi-national corporations and other forms of imperialism.

THE NEWSPAPER IS FOR THE LIBERATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL WOMEN. We are fighters against patriarchy and for the empowerment of women. This means, minimally, unquestionable reproductive freedom for all women regardless of race or economic status and a world free of sexist violence. We recognize that the oppression of women is necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. Our liberation lies in the overthrow of the state.

THE NEWSPAPER SUPPORTS LESBIAN, BIAFFECTIONATE (BISEXUAL) AND GAY LIBERATION. We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family, and support attempts to foster a diversity of consensual human relationships and sexuality.

THE NEWSPAPER WILL SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF YOUTH AGAINST THEIR SPECIFIC OPPRESSION. The newspaper makes a special effort to provide a platform for youth. We recognize that the revolutionary future lies with the youth.

THE NEWSPAPER SUPPORTS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DOMINATION OF THE NATURAL WORLD. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE CURRENT INDUSTRIAL ORDER, BUILT ON THE EXPLOITATION OF THE PLANET AND ITS INHABITANTS, HAS GIVEN RISE TO AN ECOLOGICAL CRISIS THAT THREATENS THE VERY SURVIVAL OF LIFE ON THE PLANET. We support the movements that resist further destruction of the planet. We see the need for the revolutionary transformation of our relations with the planet and all the species on it. We want to stop and reverse the destruction of the wilderness. We want to stop and reverse the poisoning of the air, land and water. We are against the exploitation of animals in factory farming and testing systems. We oppose the attacks by the state on the Animal Liberation Movement.

The newspaper does not pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. This statement does not attempt to include all issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians nor does the newspaper pretend to be fully united.

[Note: We have no way of knowing as we go to press whether this is a final version of the *Love and Rage* statement, nor do we have time before going to press to confirm it. We hope that those involved in the project will write and give us their side of the story in our next issue. As with any dispute of this sort, we advise that people listen to as many sides of the question as possible before jumping to judgment. —Lev]

Letters

An open letter to the anarchist movement

Continued from page 29

was elected to that position. A proposal was also introduced which would require members of the Editorial Council to affirm a commitment to the statement of principles, i.e. to impose a party-line on the newspaper. The proposal overwhelmingly passed and those of us who voted against it (those of us who did not belong to R.S.L., R.A.B.L. and Hayday) were then asked to explain our objections. My position was simply that a newspaper which professes to be the continental paper of the anarchist movement should be open to all individuals, groups and tendencies who advocate a stateless, non-authoritarian society in which individuals have control over their own lives and workers have control over their own labor without requiring anyone to adhere to a pre-packaged manifesto drawn up by a handful of people at a single conference.

When it became time to choose a name for the paper, suggested titles included "Dinosaur Lips" (because it is non-political), "KAOS" (because "chaos is good"), "TRASH" and "Fucking A." The name eventually chosen was "Love and Rage," which seems more like an appropriate name for a heavy-metal band than a serious anarchist newspaper.

I finally walked out of the conference as nominations were being taken for the Editorial Council as it was apparent that R.A.B.L., R.S.L. and Hayday planned to pack the council with their members.

A continental anarchist paper is a valid and necessary concept. However, such a project should be inclusive of all tendencies, groups and individuals within our movement with equal access to the decision-making process for everyone. The newspaper project launched in Chicago is nothing more than the latest R.S.L. project, in collaboration with R.A.B.L. and Hayday. Most disturbing of all are the obvious exclusionary, vanguardist methods employed by these three groups during the conference.

As an anarchist, I encourage discussion and thought regarding these matters among all serious people within our movement.

Solidarity,
K.P., Richmond, VA.

More on Love and Rage

"Those who have not paid the \$25 fee should identify themselves and request the body to absolve them from paying!"

So spoke Chris Gunderson/Ned Day AKA Leon Gunderson in an unsuccessful attempt to get us thrown out by bureaucratic methods. Those who dared to oppose the effort to resurrect the *Torch* are the enemy. But Nov. 24 & 25, the *Torch* was reborn as *Love and Rage*, the newest activist "anarchist" monthly. *Torch*, the paper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, until their recent miraculous conversion, was a trot rag.

During and immediately fol-

lowing the '87 Minneapolis gathering, Gunderson and 4-6 people, from Mpls., Chicago and Atlanta began to try to organize a continental A federation, beginning cordial relations with the then trotskyoid R.S.L. These efforts were brought to Atlanta Jan. '88 and Philly Jan. '89. But these attempts at a federation failed as their propaganda admits because most A's are against anything continental (paper or federation).

Seeing the federation idea had failed, they switched to luring people into supporting a paper that will tout their line of rioting in the streets *NOW*, hurrah for youth, deathwish demos and friendliness with commies, in particular the fallen-away trot (?) R.S.L.

Yet this project still had very small support. And since Gunderson has already alienated many people by his attempts to gain power and repeated calls for armed struggle, Ned Day was created, a typical trot move. The paper had little support and adding this new character Ned Day gave it another voice. Day also did not carry Gunderson's baggage. At the Frisco '89 gathering, these would-be bureaucrats got approved by some meeting (one that we did not attend) the idea that midwesterners would pay \$25 toward subsidizing people from outside the area who might attend last week's meeting. Their paper had to gain apparent support from across the continent to **meet the \$2,000+ budget they anticipate**. Paying people to come to Chicago from afar was the only way to manufacture this continental support.

We did not attend the Frisco gathering. We can't get to all these meetings like Gunderson and his cohorts. And since we did not attend the meeting that imposed this fee, we are not bound by others' decisions. But the would-be bureaucratic paper crowd claimed this power. Hardly A in our opinion!

The deception concerning their project continued as they kept it a secret to almost all North American anarchists. We have talked to anarchists from across the continent and few have received anything about it. Yet now they expect these same anarchists to subsidize Gunderson's \$400 a month overseer fee and distribute a paper put together by the New York City R.S.L.

Another Chicago person that attended several of the phony pro-F.M.L.N. "Hayday" group's planning meetings before the *PAPER* meeting, reports that they consciously attempted to exclude certain obstructionists from attending. We found out anyway. But in their fear of our being there, they excluded most of the North American A movement. The paper project also received a very critical letter back from what they thought might be supporters in Toronto. No one from Canada attended the meeting.

We raised the issue that this meeting did not represent the A movement. How could it, when the R.S.L. (a child of S.W.P.) had met in the same room from 9-11am immediately before the A meeting was supposed to start. When we arrived at 11, most of

these fallen-away trots had remained in the room as born again anarchists(?). With this core (2/3 of the 45 attending), 21-23 R.S.L.-ers, 4 Mpls., 5 Chgo., and 4 Hayday, a safe majority on all votes was guaranteed. We charted the R.S.L. on several votes, on nearly all, every single ex-trot voted the same. On no vote did more than 3 or 4 vote against the majority. True party discipline.

The meeting itself was easily the most staged of any we have ever attended. The Chgo. democratic party would be proud. Gunderson or W. Falk (N.Y. R.S.L.) served as "co-facilitators" for nearly the entire meeting, answering questions in the correct manner, directing discussion, influencing and making decisions moving the meeting toward their vision of a paper controlled by R.S.L.-ers. A complete agenda accounting for all of both days including schedules of what was to be discussed and when, was available Friday morning. We attempted to amend this agenda to include a discussion of the history of the project and what we all wanted out of the project. This was easily defeated. We wanted any political statement to begin as a discussion of the particular and move toward a general. But this staged event moved in the opposite direction by approving Day's political statement and amending it to include every left-liberal popular cause of 1989. Aside from the six brief references to A or anti-state, the rest of the two typewritten pages would be entirely acceptable to all the commies on the continent and even to some liberals.

When we raised our problem

of Hayday supporting the F.M.L.N. and working with mainstream church groups, much hooting and cat-calling interrupted this lucid point. A Chgo. R.S.L.-er threatened to throw us out. Most of the leftists attending this meeting had no problem working with mainstream churches. Surely churches are important in the increased incidence of homophobia and sexism. These leftists make organized religion stronger by working with them. Any true anarchist statement would attack organized religion, theirs doesn't.

One of our purposes was to raise the hidden agenda of Gunderson to call for more death wish demos and street rioting. See an article in the last R.S.L. *Torch*. This issue was never touched. But the movement has already spoken on these foolhardy actions by only 200 of the 1,500 attending San Francisco attending the absurd action in Berkeley. Very clearly the A movement has rejected this premature folly and the neo-trots in Chgo. refused to open it to any discussion. We hope most anarchists are wise enough to ignore this stupidity because further actions very well might bring severe repression on the movement.

We want an anarchist revolution but *Love and Rage* won't help. Even the name was fixed. Less than a handful of people voted for it at first. But after dinner and a womyn's caucus supported it, the faithful majority fell in line to pass it. When approval of the political statement was called for, most people had not read it. Or seemed to give a damn. Onward. In the end 5 people refused to support the project at

the final meeting. Several of us, who would not, had already left. Three of the non-aligned people attending the conference would not support the "paper." Two or three of the 9, also expressed doubts but tentatively supported it. We had never met the dissenters, but in the end a few people with only limited influence from us obstructionists, agreed that this project stinks.

Our experience with the R.S.L. has been limited. But the two events we attended this year re-enforce our belief that they are not anarchist. Uncritical lavish praise for the Stalinist Black Panther Party. One of their members claiming the party supports a black North American "state." Their refusal to discuss the need for revolution. And continued efforts to direct discussion toward their "franchise" issues, racism, sexism and homophobia. The R.S.L.-ers, we have met have incredible leftist/trot baggage. Falk from N.Y. in the discussion bulletin for the meeting says, "We support independence for Puerto Rico." Most anarchists we have discussed this issue with agree, why and how did these trots find A in such a short time?

In the final go around of pledging money, the R.S.L.-ers pledged over half the \$2,000 they expect to need to pay Day's salary and rent the space—they anticipate needing \$600+ in NYC to rent. Once again the project smells. Over half the cost is rent and Day's salary. Our movement is not large enough to subsidize these two wasteful expenses. If the paper was necessary it should share space with an existing group that has space to save us the expense of paying a fucking landlord. But then again this proves this project has very little support. Several of the larger A communities were not represented. This paper crowd expects all of us to pay for selling their line.

On Sat. Nov. 25, two separate proposals were made to open the process of doing the paper to other groups. Both involved giving a page each month to other groups to paste up and do with as they wish. After a break, the facilitators prevented these efforts at decentralization from ever coming up for discussion again.

WE expect further criticism of the royally fucked event to come out of Richmond, VA., Tucson, AZ., Champaign, IL., and from a few other people in Chgo. We are also fairly certain that others we have discussed this project with who did not attend it as the individuals above did, will continue to blast the efforts by a few to create a bureaucratic mechanism.

In conclusion, most A projects are roundly praised when they start. But this is certainly a rare exception because ours is only the tip of many critiques. We will not give a dime toward this *Love and Rage*. Hope you don't either.

For freedom,
Beth, George and Fred
Box 163
1340 W. Irving Pk. Rd.
Chicago, IL. 60613



The cover of a dime-novel, 1886—a legacy of the Haymarket Affair.



Letters

Interesting & informative

Anarchy,

I picked up an issue of your magazine at a friend's and found it very interesting and informative. I like what you've been doing (the pieces on sexuality have been great), and I'd like to support it. Please give me a subscription, and I'm sure I'll be keeping in touch.

Thank you.

With love,
J.C., Chico, CA.

Not sure...

Dear C.A.L.,

Could that be Children A something L something. I'm not sure what attracted me to the description of your newspaper, but I'm writing anyway. What's 'sup'?

I don't know what biocentrism is, or even the major focus of anarchist news. Is that something like Haller's trip in *Steppenwolf*? I hope not because I wouldn't want to shoot anyone.

Actually, I know of a pretty popular alternative newspaper. *The Austin Chronicle*--with which you may be familiar. I used to be on the crew that put it out. Not bragging, mind you.

J.H., Fayetteville, AR.

Anarchist-confrontist

Dear Anarchy,

I picked up a copy of your magazine at the Oxford Book Store in Atlanta and was glad to see some fresh perspectives about the drug-hunt, reviews of alternative press magazines, and the sexual "revolution." I am thinking of starting an "anarchist-confrontist" magazine at Stanford if I can get some people to work on it with me. I've had some ideas about homogeneity within society, i.e. every city looks alike--they have McDonald's, Burger Kings, and malls which are carbon copies of each other, etc., etc... Other ideas include how emotion can confuse people into thinking a god exists, legalization of drugs, change through non-violence (this is something where many "anarchists" have disagreements), and global freedom of speech. I've found that many so-called "liberals" only allow freedom of speech when it is from the "liberal" point of view.

Also, if I started an anarchist magazine, would it be possible to reprint some of the articles from your magazine (with recognition of course)?

Keep up the good work. Here is \$6 for a subscription and a \$4 donation to the magazine.

Sincerely,
T.S., Stanford, CA.

Your eternal soul?

Yo @ Dogs,

Your mag is great! Just moved here to beautiful Columbia & love the local discount! Anyway, in response to the Badguy's response to Jack from Berkeley [see Jack Straw's letter in *Anarchy* #20/21 titled "You're fooling yourself"]. I personally liked most of Jack's letter except for the unnecessary

degrading remarks. And, Baddude, I noticed a crucial flaw in your reasoning. Quote: "the existing social system which always exacts a price in return for the benefits it doles out--something those on the fast track to success usually lose sight of." So, you are equating success of your personal self with that of the existing social structure! I thought Anarchy above all else meant the willingness of each person to have his own, unsubstantiated beliefs and to accept those of others. Therefore, I can accept whatever you strive for in life, but generally Anarchy implies some form of rejection of the usual benefits of material success. I hate to bring up oppressive religious-like moralistic themes, but what of your eternal soul?--or that of the planet? I do not ascribe to any dogma, but I do have certain beliefs that I would consider Anarchistic. Well, the main point of it all is that in order to truly change the world we must transcend our own materialistic desires that have caused this whole capitalistic nightmare of industrialization, prostitution for \$ and status, as well as profound egotism (that I hopefully am not guilty of displaying).

Flapa Zapa,
J.P., Columbia, MO.

It's a damn shame

Dear Lev,

Hey now! How goes it in your neck of the woods? I know it has been some time since I have written, but I have been extremely

busy with all of the things I do in this prison. I recently moved from the prison in Florence to another complex in Tucson, Arizona. I like it here a lot more compared to the other prison because I can move around a lot more. I have more access to the things I need, too, and I can get much more accomplished. However, let it be known that I like **NO PRISON**--this one just happens to have a little more freedom than the last one I was at.

I received your last issue of @; *A Journal of Desire Armed* just fine. I must tell you that I really liked that issue. It confronted a taboo subject with an enlightening and provocative approach. I think it is something that needs to be confronted in this hypocritical "Puritanist" society of ours when it comes to our sexuality and that of our children, spouses, casual lovers, and one-night stands. In other countries, sexuality is nothing to be ashamed of and people are taught that at an early age. I think it's a damn shame when someone can actually be arrested for oral sex when both partners consent to the act. (If they are stupid enough to get caught at it...) When some desk jockey can sit in his office and act as an armchair professor and decide what others can do, there is something god-awfully wrong with the country.... At any rate, I commend you for your commitment to discuss openly such an ignored issue by other forms of the media.

...I also wrote to say thank you once again for allowing me to receive a regular subscription to

your periodical. I share it with everyone I know in here when it arrives so that you save money and inform at the same time. It has given rise to many in-depth discussions among us and I like being able to talk about the things you talk about with the people in here so that we are able to be better informed as people and as inmates of ignorance.

...With this letter, I have enclosed several poems I wanted to share with you. You can publish them, read them, give them away, throw them away, or whatever you wish. I hope they are worth the time it took to read them.

Take care of yourselves over there and have fun while you are doing it. Know that I send only the best of thoughts and wishes to you and yours, and that I wish you continued success with your publishing.

A friend,
R.K., Tucson, AZ.

FOR ONE PEACEFUL WORLD

I'm miffed

Anarchy,

Having recently begun catching up on the mass of material I gathered at the S.F. anarchist gathering, I just read the critique of last year's (Toronto) demo. and, quite honestly, I'm miffed. Much of the article centers around the "reason" for the demo. Has nobody, in any article about the demo mentioned the simple fact that we were protesting the July 3rd downing of the Iranian Airbus by the U.S.S. Vincennes? We weren't demonstrating "because it was the good Anarchist" thing to do. Leaving the actual events of the demo. aside for a moment, it would have been quite a waste of such a large gathering of "radicals" to ignore such an atrocity. Ours was the largest action outside the middle-east in reaction to the bombing. Now to the demo. Hell, I enjoyed myself. There was very little violence, some funny clever chants; it was my first experience with un-arrests. For the most part we had the cops on the run. We were quite aware of why we were there, and what we were doing. We even burned the BLACK FLAG. A strong anti-Amerikkkan demo. on the 4th of July! The eventual unraveling of the demo. leading to most of the arrests, points to the most important--and yet unsolved--tactical issue of demonstration: How do we end it? If we are to have effective, militant, mass-action we need to come up with an equally effective, militant way of ending them. I, frankly, am without an answer. We need to think about it. If we can come up with the right answer, we may be unstoppable.

B.Free
Black Oak
c/o M.P.O. Box 0187
Oberlin, OH. 44074

Ps. Please add us to your contact list for post-situationist, anti-ideological, revolutionary anarchists.

[Note: The purpose of the Toronto demonstration was noted in an earlier pair of articles in *Anarchy* #18. See "This time we retaliate!" and "An open letter on the 'Day of Action'--both on page 17 of that issue--for more discussion of that demonstration.]

Thought-provoking work

Dear g@ng,

Howdy! I just purchased your latest double issue 20/21 at the Memory Hole Bookshop here in Syracuse. It was a good issue. I'll miss the Papalagi series which was very enjoyable. I'm glad you reprinted "As we see it!"--I've been meaning to send for it & now I don't have to.

Enclosed is something towards the project. You don't have to give me a subscription--I like supporting the Memory Hole so I'll continue to get *Anarchy* there. Take care & thank you for your thought-provoking work.

Sincerely,
A.M., Syracuse, NY.

Found at Louie's

Enclosed is the reg. subscription rate of \$6.00. Please begin my subscr. with issue #20/21 (the one dealing with "Relationships").

I found your mag. at Louie's Bookstore in Baltimore and dig it because I have long thought about anarchist theories but never met anyone else who did.

P.E., Denton, TX.

Nothing pertinent

Dear Lev,

Received your *Anarchy* #20/21. Way too much stuff for my poor little mind to read. Could only skim very lightly. Found nothing pertinent to "real" change.

Otherwise it is a beautiful professional job.

E.M., Minneapolis, MN.

Banned at Louie's

Dear Lev and friends,

Greetings! Enclosed is payment for #19 of *Anarchy*. Please lower my standing order to 20 copies. Your publication has been ejected permanently from my main outlet. Twenty copies of #19 sold there before the manager noticed that the magazine featured articles on children's sexuality and pedophilia. She apparently thought it her duty to protect the people of our town from such smut. She instructed the assistant manager to pull the remaining copies and to inform me that they would never again be selling *Anarchy*. However, sales are now up at *Anarchy*'s one remaining Baltimore outlet, where I have placed a small card above the magazine that reads "Banned at Louie's!"

I thought you might be interested in this development.

Respectfully yours,
C.S., Baltimore, MD.

Not working out

Dear Lev,

Putting me down as a contact has not been working out. The mail has been great but most of it is from outside of the country. After all this time I have received only two letters from people in Texas. But, there is good news. A

Continued on next page

Limbo

Where is the light?
Surely it cannot be found here...
The drudge I shuffle through
in these pits of human disgrace
is affecting my ability
to change my life's path so far.
There is no escape.
No help, either.
Each soul knows nor cares not.
I'm totally alone,
yet I am totally smothered by another's delusion--
regardless of which uniform.

Space doesn't exist.

Is there anything more to life than this minute?
I know not occasionally,
but my mind sees through the muck, vividly,
to the light.
It charges my soul's used and worn batteries.
How much longer must I be dead, Lord?

R. Kelly, Tucson, AZ.

Fear

Fear--
the vital element.
My reality demands its presence,
and I oblige.
Yes, I admit it.
Challenge not my world, but your own.
The issue forced
can bring you sorrow and pain,
person whom I do not know.

R. Kelly, Tucson, AZ.

Letters

Not working out

Continued from page 31

group in Austin is forming called Austin Anarchist League, POB 49523, Austin, TX. 78765. Perhaps they would be interested as Austin is about twenty times larger than New Braunfels and there are several universities there. It seems people in America want to organize and have regular meetings, etc. I really hate the idea of an organization or any kind of structure, although it may be necessary. Hey, changing diapers is necessary but I don't want to do it, so regular meetings drives me nuts, plus it also alerts the man.

I enjoyed it and look forward to the next issue.

Yours,

A.H., New Braunfels, TX.

What about you?

Dear Lev,

Enclosed find another small contribution to your fine publication.

I'm fairly new to your journal--kind of jumped in mid-stream so to speak--so I'm curious as to where/how the journal got started. And what relation, if any, anarchist thought today has to the ideas of people like Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Kropotkin, et al. This may seem like a silly question, but I'd like to know, since reading Emma Goldman, and Alexander Berkman's *Prison Memoirs* especially, have had an influence on how I look at the world. What about you?

Keep up the good work.

D.M., Mali.

[I became interested in anarchy in the late '60s/early '70s when I read Paul Goodman--and then, as you mention, Goldman, Berkman, Kropotkin...as well as Bakunin, Malatesta, Voline, Proudhon, Orwell, Chomsky, Guerin and others. After I moved to Columbia, a few like-minded people decided to form the Columbia Anarchist League, under which name some of us eventually began publishing *Anarchy* as a 4-page newsletter around 1980 at a rate of an issue every year or so. We've just become somewhat serious about publishing in the last few years now. But *Anarchy* isn't about classical anarchism so much as it is about what we perceive as its current relevance. We've been influenced by the Situationist International (a now-defunct Paris-based group, one of whose major texts we're beginning to reprint in this issue) and other more contemporary liberatory currents of thought and activity. We'd still like to see people read the classics of anarchist thought and history, but I'm afraid people attracted to the modern manifestations of anarchist activity seem to be pretty anti-intellectual for the most part. Their loss and ours.--Lev]

Closest to anarchy

Dear friends at *Anarchy*,

Thanks so much for issue #20/21. Your zine is very well done. I especially appreciated the press review & the news about People's Park about which I hadn't heard. And, unfortunately, "The Sad Truth" was just that. Another area of reporting of great interest is the international scene, to which

"The Sad Truth" is related when it comes to So. America.

My favorites, however, are the articles & related stuff on sexuality. For this reason, I beg you to send me your previous issue on Children's sexuality which I simply MUST have....

Only recently have I come to the realization that my philosophy is closest to anarchy than any other. How can I be more involved when I soon get out of here?

Keep up the good work. Thanks again.

In revolutionary brotherhood,
R.D., Litchfield, CT.

I'm living proof

Lev,

...I'm still appealing the denial by these people of your publication from being allowed to enter here (N.S.P.-Max.), and to me. So far I've written letters concerning it to the security squad in here (the gooners), secondly the warden here (who is presently serving 2 days in the county jail for drunk driving), then I wrote the director of the dept. of prisons for the state of Nevada. Thus far not only am I not getting any reasons from these people as to why my subscription was denied me, but they are not even replying to my letters of request.

Such actions by these people give good cause to leave me quite frustrated. And unfortunately, for the most part, the courts back the play of these sullen feeble-minded beings. Which of course only enhances my frustrations & such. But enough on that matter now.

Presently I would like to respond to a letter (part of the excerpt you sent me) one of your readers wrote you and your response to it in issue #20/21. This letter entitled "No absolutes" says in part that his/her friends state that anarchism is the absence of rules and without them people will kill each other and otherwise take advantage of each other. You then go on to respond in part saying, one could easily reply that in the world today there are rules,

laws, taboos and prohibitions up to people's ears, and you haven't noticed that it's made people here any less likely to kill each other or take advantage of each other.

Well I'm here to say I'm living proof that you're absolutely right!

I'm a native New Yorker and some 20-odd years ago after becoming fed up with paying taxes (monies of mine used for things I was against) I decided to go into business on my own--a public service business. I became a bookie.

Instantly I not only realized this was my forte, but also a means for me to attain my true inner peace and happiness. Which in turn would also mean my wife at the time and two children would be that much more happy as well. And for 5½ years this worked as well as I thought it would. I made the public happy by my giving them an outlet for their desires to gamble (paying them in full on time when they won), and I was experiencing a personal happiness such as I had never known before, nor probably will ever again. I was not taking advantage of anyone, I was not robbing anyone, nor was I killing anyone.

But then of course the establishment stepped in with their bureaucratic hypocritical rules and laws and proceeded to make my life miserable and eventually caused the break-up of my marriage and very family. I then came out here (Las Vegas) figuring I'd become a legal bookie. But low & behold I came upon another law. This one basically stated that since I was convicted of gambling where it's illegal, I now cannot become a bookie where it's legal!

Right about then I said fuck 'em in their necks! I started robbing banks, telephone companies, and other utilities (electric & water, etc.) anything which represented the establishment. I also became a drug abuser. (I think to drown the pain from not being allowed to realize my personal happiness and very dream, and seeing the anguish my children were experiencing as a result also.)

Anyway, to make a long story short, I not only with time (almost 10 yrs.) continued and increased with my drug abuse, but also with my life as an outlaw, eventually committing the "ultimate" crimes against society and its establishment. Eventually also the establishment incarcerated me.

There's one more bit of irony here, the establishment which claims to represent law and order was only able (I emphasize the word "only") able to incarcerate me by they themselves violating some laws of their own. I was judged by man and not by law, which really means there ain't no law at all! And if there's no law at all, why am I incarcerated?!!?

So there you have it. You're absolutely right in what you said in your response to "No absolutes."

I'll just add that the way I see it we as beings are born into this world with "Natural" rights and/or liberties. One of these is the right and/or liberty to better ourselves and seek our own personal happiness and inner peace. And anything we might choose to do to attain such, so long as it does not interfere or violate anyone else's is "natural" rights and/or liberties, should not be frowned upon let alone be deemed illegal.

Sincerely,

Joe Koza #17251

Box 607

Carson City, NV. 89701

Access to publications

Dear folks,

Please find enclosed a check for \$24.00 to renew my subscription to *Anarchy*. \$6 is for 6 issues at the regular individual rate...and the other \$18 is a donation...

A few words about my support for *Anarchy*. I believe in supporting a number of different groups or causes because I believe society needs diversity of opinions. I equate the social/political ecology and the biosphere ecology. Both require wide variations of forms. An ecologic system based on only a few lifeforms can be unstable. Eliminate one of the lifeforms in such a system and it might collapse. I think socio/political heterogeneity is healthy and essential for society; conformity and standardization is death.

For as long as I have been subscribing to *Anarchy*, you seem to have made a painfully consistent effort to make it available to all who wish it, even though such a policy can create personal hardships. Lev Chernyi's comments in issue #20/21 on the state of the subscription drive touched me deeply because it showed the depth of commitment to this ideal. I recently broke all ties with a NeoPagan Political Activist group, in part over commitment to this ideal. I am committed, as you seem to be, to eliminating classist and monetary restrictions to access to a publication such as yours. Such a commitment means actively exploring alternative modes of subscription (i.e. sliding scale, voluntary contributions, etc.) I feel *Anarchy* is doing this in many ways.

Those of us who have ideals and politics out of the mainstream must often struggle to actualize

those visions. And we must help each other when the work is important. I cannot be there to help you do the paste-up, but I can afford to give you some money. I am donating enough to cover three other subscriptions. Since you are only a quarter of the way to your subscription goal, my donation covers myself and three others who, for whatever reasons, can not or have not sent in money for subs.

Finally, I'd like to say your subscription prices are quite low considering the quality and frequency of publication. Please keep up the good work.

P.P., Jamaica Plain, MA.

[We appreciate your extra contribution, and we will continue to provide *Anarchy* free to prisoners and to anyone else who really wants to receive it, but genuinely can't afford to subscribe.--Lev]

New-comer in town

Dear Toni,

Hi! I am a new-comer here in town. Been here about nine months.

And I have never heard of the mag. called *Anarchy* before until I was walking in Peace Park and they were giving some away free and so I took one home and looked at it.

What I want to know is what is anarchy anyway, what does the word anarchy mean anyway.

Call me old-fashioned if you would but I don't understand what this mag. is all about. Please tell me more about what anarchy is about, what you people stand for and what the mag. stands for, and what is the purpose of the mag.

Thank you,
D.B., Columbia, MO.

Toni responds

Dear Don,

I appreciate your letter. I could refer you to the etymological roots of "anarchy," or perhaps bore or even satisfy you with my own definitions. Instead let me simply encourage you to continue asking yourself "What is anarchy?" I think you'll eventually answer your own question much better than I could. If the paper *Anarchy* or the books we offer are of assistance to you, so much the better.

If anyone reading this response to Don's letter thinks a better answer is possible, please feel free to contribute to this letters section.

Here is just one definition of anarchy courtesy of Sabotage, 96 St. Marks, NYC, NY. 10009: a condition of society regulated by voluntary cooperation and mutual aid instead of government.

Punk parents

Hello,

I'm a punk parent who reads your mag. I enjoy it, laugh alot while reading it, even. But must admit, most of it is hard for me to grasp since I read very little @ lit & don't know much history (I'm not proud of this, it just doesn't

sing of war
as i lie in your arms
deep in the ocean
in the terror of the day
touch me
and kiss my lips
light candles underneath my skin
the purity of darkness
draws an end to our slumber
our bodies break the surface
i feel my hand touch your skin
the surface is glass and we coast to the shore
ozone tears bring life to our lungs
bands of fire colour the sky
the moon throws your shadow
onto me
with speed unmatched by the sound of our voices
we glide above the earth
dancing in the flames of an abandoned city
and for a time i am alive
so before the day breaks
dive with me now
where the light can not reach

--a. stranger



Letters

find any place in my daily, distracted life). Keep up the good work. You certainly serve a worthwhile purpose spreading info. If I had spare \$ yours would be amongst the first folks I would donate to. Hopefully I can subscribe soon. Can you find a place for this small ad for **Punk Parents**? Know any who might relate to this?

Take care & good luck,
Love K., Sacramento, CA.

[Note: As most people will notice we don't print ads in *Anarchy*, though we do provide information when it seems worthwhile. The first issue of *Punk Parents Digest* (2826 H St., Sacramento, CA. 95816) features stories on "Surviving the Winter with baby...cuddle up!"]

Capitalism beyond repair

Dear Lev,

I won't try to rehabilitate the word "capitalism." You're right, it's pretty much beyond repair. My main point is that anarchists should oppose all macroeconomics, not just capitalism. Macroeconomics is the "science" of how states manipulate individuals through tariffs, quotas, subsidies, taxes, tax rebates, changing the money supply, and on and on.

Macroeconomics courses in colleges and high schools teach kids that governments have a perfect right to do these things, just as Aristotle taught that the elite had a perfect right to own slaves. Unless one has a contorted definition of anarchism, I don't see how any form of macroeconomics can be compatible with it.

There's a joke that goes "If you laid all the economists in the world end to end, they wouldn't reach a conclusion." But it's really not funny that a lot of these assholes are paid big bucks to invent mysterious words and equations to disagree with each other. They divide and conquer. About the only thing they agree on is that they have a right to play with our lives.

I think that we are making a strategic error if we do not attack all macroeconomics for what it is, slavery to an elite, on college campuses and elsewhere.

Best regards,
T.P., Farmingdale, NJ.

[Sounds good to me.—Lev]

Survey response

Dear Badguy, Lev, Toni, et al.,

I've misplaced your survey at the moment, but did you consider that the reason that the response to it is so weak may be the Hakim Bey piece on surveys which you carried in a recent issue? At any rate, I see nothing wrong with telling you what I like/dislike about the paper, provided, of course, that you don't pander to your readership!

First of all, I like the "Anarchist press review," but you could probably drop the "Alternative press review;" anyone who's seriously interested in this might as well pick up a copy of *Fact-sheet Five* anyway. "Openers," the various news sections, "the Sad

Truth," etc. are all interesting. I also like the various reviews. I should take issue with the review of "The Thin Blue Line," though. The author gets so carried away with criticizing how Earl Morris attempts to make the story aesthetically pleasing that (s)he almost neglects to mention that Morris has done a hell of a lot more to free an innocent man from the state. Whatever you think of the technicalities of the film, it worked.

Features: I never liked "the Papalagi," and I like it even less after hearing that it's probably faked. The articles provide no real thoughts or insights, and I think that the only real satisfaction that somebody could get from them is a kind of "uh-huh, I was right" kind of smug satisfaction. I do like the drawings that go along with them, though, and on that subject, **I love Wildcat Comics!!!** The feature articles are almost always interesting, and I like the reader-submitted poetry and prose. I also consider your letters page particularly interesting, though you might consider not printing the "Nice paper, here's my subscription. Love, N.B., Walla Walla" variety.

Feral Faun's articles are fantastic!

But don't let it sound like I'm being too harsh on you. I still think that your paper is just about the best written and composed paper around. I've enclosed my subscription renewal, plus \$10 bucks as a pre-order for your book when and if it's published (keep it if it's not)....

Guess that's about all I have to say right now....

C.S., Birmingham, MI.

"(our present situation) is like standing outside of the cave and throwing rocks in to see if the big monster inside will come out and eat you, because sooner or later, it will."

--James Burke

Real people

Hi Lev,

Just got *Anarchy* #20/21 last week. Good stuff. I don't remember seeing that kind of discussion of sexuality and relationships (#19 too) for about a decade.

By the way, some reactionaries who did show an interest in #19 were the customs officials who xeroxed it before sending it back. I hope they learned from it.

In my P.S. last time, did I get around to complimenting Badguy?

His honesty and frankness were refreshing plus I always find it interesting to see real people behind all those words. Same with Mikal Jakubal in this ish....

S.V., Lake St. Peter,
Ontario, Canada

Open letter to Bob Wells and Henry "Camo" Bortman

We have heard about the government's attempt to get you to collaborate with a political witch-hunting grand jury, originating in Chicago and investigating the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee. We have heard that you intend to resist this government attack against the anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggle.

Brothers, we want to personally and publicly commend you and support you in the correct and righteous stance you are taking. There is never a "good" or "easy" time to face the prospect of captivity. But there are issues and principles that are worth fighting and risking one's freedom and even life for. As political prisoners, we have been through some of the worst prisons the U.S. government has. And even while human

rights violations abound and political prisoners are singled out for abuse, it is not only necessary but possible to survive the U.S. empire's camps and continue to resist and remain an active part of the Freedom Struggle.

As we have all come to understand, grand juries and so called judicial investigations of political organizations and movements, are intelligence-gathering operations as well as assaults against us. These attacks are designed to test the depth and strength of our principles, determination and ability to cope. It is only by immediately and firmly refusing to collaborate with the government's efforts, that we can not only withstand the attacks, but that as people and organizations we can actually overcome and grow from them.

Besides refusing to assist the grand jury, it is necessary to expose the government and to call on the people and the left to support the resisters. We want to add our voices and call on all revolutionary and progressive organizations and people to support Bob and Camo and to learn from their principled and correct stand. In Unity there is Strength--in Strength there is Victory! AMANDLA!

Jaen Karl Laaman,
Leonard Peltier,
Larry Giddings,
Leavenworth, KS.

Reply to Badguy

Your 2nd, 3rd and (for the most part) 4th paragraphs [see "Badguy sez" on the back cover of *Anarchy* #20/21] had little I would argue with. If that had been your original column, I would not have written my letter. But that was not the case. The original column tossed around insults (e.g. "back when I was a hippy")--how superior you are to those of us still living like that), dealt with activity as an act on behalf of others, and strongly implied you intended to find happiness through a better job. All those I would still argue with, if stated in such a way. Were you perhaps over-stating your case with the hope of precipitating a response you could label "intolerant"? But I don't wish to pursue a ping-pong match of accusations when we don't seriously disagree. By the way, sorry about the Orioles.

Jack Straw

Badguy to Straw

At the time I was a hippie, I did think I was in some sense superior to others because of my asceticism, and it was this attitude which I am trying to look at with honest eyes. I don't expect to find happiness by any means other than being myself and letting my feelings and aesthetic awareness move me deeply. I would have liked responses to my column which were intimate and shared something of everyday experiences--a bit of pain, joy, and ambiguity. As I tried, in my own way, to do in my original column. Your letter, which presumes much and opens little only makes me sad.

EXPLORE THE NEW & FASCINATING CAREER CHANCES WHICH INVOLVE OPPORTUNITIES TO PRACTICE YOUR SKILLS RATHER FREELY.

As the world increasingly unifies under the banner of Production & Consumption, the demand for bright young individuals with the ability to respond to the world in a gutless schizophrenic manner continues to grow. Do you have what it takes?

Are you willing and able to :

- *) Separate and alienate your desires from your actions?
- *) Remove yourself from the living world and become a helpless spectator to your own misery?
- *) Recreate the conditions of your own oppression on a daily basis?
- *) Reify yourself and do the same to others?
- *) Give your power over to the dominant social structure while simultaneously claiming you have none anyway?
- *) Cut off all deep pleasures in exchange for a gaze of blank idiocy?
- *) Free yourself from Freedom?
- *) Castrate yourself before a crowd of indifferent bureaucrats?

If you answer yes to any or all of these questions, then you may look forward to a lifetime guarantee that tomorrow will be exactly like today.

For not only does the structure of power today demand more schizophrenic idiots: its entire future depends on that demand being met.

So please consider a career in global production; because it's more than just a living. It's a living death.

WORK NOW / DIE LATER

Letters

News from Greece

Hello there,

Thank you for *Anarchy* #18.

I think that you would like to hear about what is going on down here. The elections have just "finished." The "winners" of the elections are the conservatives (44%), the socialists with only 39%, and the communists with 13%. But the conservatives cannot form a government of their own because there are only 145 conservative members of the parliament (the total number is 300). So the government we now have in Greece is an alliance between conservatives and...communists. Yes, the communists participate in the new conservative government. The communists now have two ministries: the Ministry of Justice and the State Department.

This event was a very big disappointment for the communist and other left workers.

During the pre-election period the anarchist groups and some armed groups were propagandizing that we should "vote invalid." That means to take a piece of paper and write on it whatever you like: a @, a joke, a "fuck off," or whatever. The result was 150,000 "invalid" votes (in the elections of 1985 there were only 55,000).

On the 27th of June a squatted house was attacked by the cops and 5 comrades were arrested.

That's all for now. The 2 posters I send you are reprinted from original French gravures of 1894 and 1895. I also would like to ask a favor. Could it be possible to send me a *Wildcat Comics* book?

ANAPXIA KE ZOI,
Disturbance
POB 31261
10035 Athens
Greece

Pecking orders

Dear Lev Chernyi & *Anarchy*,

Thanks for your letter. I've seen your paper before and liked it. I'm sure we've been in communication but somewhere it failed. So, yes, we'd be very pleased to exchange papers. I enclose our last 3 issues which should give a fair idea of the areas we cover.

I was very pleased to see you tackling the issue of pornography. Feminists are going totally over the top and undermining the whole left wing. We hope to do a Woman-Man issue after the next one.

I was interested to read your "As we see it!" But I think you've got it wrong. There will always be a peck order (of respect and influence, but not authority). The problem is not hierarchy, but obedience to hierarchy. Throughout the animal world the peck order is the means whereby the group reduces fighting. We are both competitive and co-operative. In a "natural" society our competitiveness is moderated by our need for cooperation. When the need for cooperation is destroyed by money, the private ownership of land and the welfare state, our natural competitiveness is no longer moderated by cooperation and just naturally grows into our mon-

strous dog-eat-dog society.

In an anonymous society, the peck-order, our competitiveness, is expressed by what we can buy, status symbols. So in a deformed society this consumption is quite understandable, and is still a proper means of reducing fighting. I think your analysis underrates people. They are not conned. They are just behaving naturally in an unnatural situation. Which brings us full circle to feminism. (I accept that women are exploited. I reject the feminist explanation.) Feminism insists that competitiveness is nurture. I think it is nature. We are both co-operative & competitive. But men are more competitive, women are more co-operative. And in a dog-eat-dog society the cooperative, the women, get exploited. So I would suggest that it is only anarchism, no money, etc. which can stop the exploitation of women.

I have talked about feminism to show that the competitive/cooperative analysis explains much more than just consumer society.

Good to be in contact, I look forward to hearing further from you.

Best wishes,
Richard Hunt
Green Anarchist
Box H, 34 Cowley Rd.
Oxford OX4 1HZ
England

Attack International

Dear comrades,

Thanks for sending us a copy of *Anarchy*. In return, please find enclosed a copy of our paper *Attack* (of which we have very few copies left, but it does give a good guide to our basic political positions), and our newish book, *Breaking Free* (a review would be greatly appreciated if you wanted to do one—it should be available through A Distribution or write directly to us with £3 per copy [the extra is for postage]). Your magazine was an interesting read, but there is such a gulf between the revolutionary politics in this country and those in the U.S.A. Here, there is a strong orientation towards the working class and local (community and workplace) activity, rather than moralistic marginalized single issues. It might sound clichéd, but only the working class can stop environmental destruction...and nothing else! And anyone who goes on about non-violence or any other such crap is liable to rapid expulsion. When will such people realize that capitalism will never allow itself to be "peacefully" overthrown? Any study of history is clear proof that we have got to fight and fight again to win anything from the ruling class.

That said, we don't particularly like the fetishization of the German/Dutch autonomes by certain people—to us, the autonomes are an obvious sign of weakness. They can go on as many demonstrations as they like with their crash helmets and iron bars, but they are totally inward looking, stuck in their militant ghettos with little orientation towards the only force that can change society: the working class. In fact, they

hardly ever talk about the working class, just about 'anti-imperialism,' the Red Army Faction and other such external events.

So what's going on here? The British economy is still in deep trouble, as so-called "Third World" countries industrialize and offer higher rates of profit to capital. There are a few signs of hope on the horizon for the bourgeoisie as the credit boom continues to grow and grow—and, hopefully, collapse soon. In the last few months, there has been quite a considerable strike wave, particularly in the transport sector (e.g. rail, buses, tube, etc.). Many strikes have originated from the workers themselves rather than the union bureaucrats, but there have been no obvious attempts to establish real workers' democracy such as mass assemblies and workers' councils. In this crisis period for capitalism, wildcat strikes are often the only form of strike activity as the state has restrained and virtually outlawed union strikes. The bourgeoisie are, in some ways, cutting their own throats in the long term as social democracy (i.e. unions and the Labour Party in this country) has been their great bulwark against revolution. Another important struggle (and one that's going to run and run) has been the revision of the local taxation system—previously, it was based on property (i.e. size) and now it's based on people. Essentially, a couple in a dingy flat would pay twice as much as a millionaire in a mansion. In Scotland, apparently up to a million people (25% of the total population) have refused to pay it (the first payment was officially due on 1st April this year)

while here in England and Wales many people have refused to register, especially (of course!) in inner city and working class areas. This is a struggle with great potential as it is attacking everyone at the same time (up to now, the tactic of the ruling class has been to attack one sector after another, so that separation and divisions are maintained [e.g. steelworkers, miners, printworkers, etc.]). Interestingly enough, they have not introduced the Poll Tax (this new taxation) in Northern Ireland—if you want to know why, send off for a copy of our next pamphlet, "The Spirit of Freedom" or try to remember what the words republican and I.R.A. mean!

There's lots more that could (and should!) be written, but it's late at night and even revolutionaries have got to sleep sometimes. We loved the report on the Pentagon action (more humour than analysis, though!) and were glad to see the tribute to Larry Law—everyone should read *Spectacular Times*, it's one of the best revolutionary publications ever. Couldn't get round to reading "An introduction to critical theory" (over-dosing on ideology!), nor "Biocentrism..." But the article on unions was great (some comrades here call themselves "communists" or "left communists" in reaction to the marginalized individualistic lifestyle of many so-called "anarchists" here)—and good letter from the Anarchist Labour League as well (though it must be said that we were responsible for producing the classic poster "I Didn't Go To Work Today...And I Don't Think I'll Go Tomorrow," a classic statement of our times. Sure, we've got

to work...but that doesn't mean that we like it!). Good to see the word "class" in an U.S. anarchist paper (a rare sight indeed). So...we would like to go on your contact list (essentially, we're a publishing group that occasionally produces revolutionary commodities), but please, please—if anyone wants anything, can they send over megabucks as postage is so fucking expensive? Thanks a lot and keep up the struggle.

for global social revolution,
S.H. for Attack International
BM 6577
London WC1N 3XX
England

Ps. Could you send a copy of your leaflet *As we see it!*. And talking of publications, there is an American book that we would love to get our hands on—it's called *Failure of a Revolution* and it's by Serge Hafner(?). It's about the German revolution in 1918-21 and is an absolute classic but is not available in this country. If you have got a copy or could buy one, then we'll send you the money for it. Thanks.

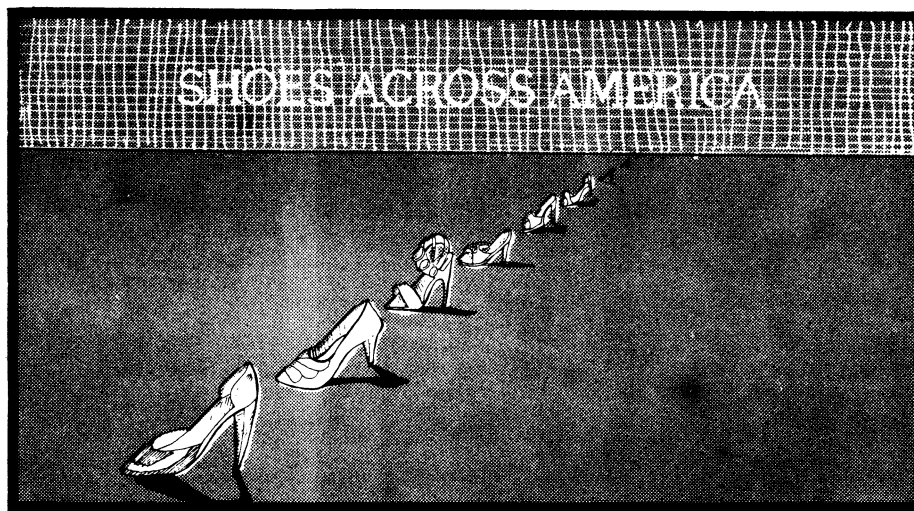
[Note: I haven't ever heard of this book. Can any readers help them out?]

Next @ fest?

Dear Lev,

I'm renewing my subscription to *Anarchy*. The last (Oct. something) issue was fantastic. I especially liked the letter from A.S. in the Ukraine. If he/she would like to write another anti-authoritarian, please forward my address! *Demonstration Derby* was also very impressive, especially for a first issue.

SHE HAS BEEN WAITING. BUT SHE WILL WAIT NO LONGER.



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Letters

Any insight as to if and where the next @ fest will be? I heard rumors of New York and Vancouver. I also saw the proposal for the 1991 @ fest to be in Mexico City. That sounds just a little scary, I've had friends who have been in Mexican jails. Yikes!

Thanx for the continued good work at putting out an excellent paper.

Solidarity & stuff,
N.G., Mesa, AZ.

[Does anyone have a line on what, if any, serious plans are being made for North American anarchist gatherings in the coming year? We haven't heard anything definite from anywhere yet.—Lev]

Gnostic dualism

Dear Lev,

In reading thru the articles in yr really very admirable & engaging journal, I was suddenly struck by a feeling of uneasiness about a certain current of anarchist rhetoric—& not for the first time. I count myself amongst the "post-situ anti-ideologues" to whom the journal is addressed, so I speak as a comrade not an enemy when I sum up my feeling by saying that **too much post-situ thought is tainted with gnostic dualism.**

The usual form of Manichaeism dualism posits two worlds, one of corrupt & evil matter, the other of pure & bodiless light, inviolable spirit. Certain post-situ also seem to believe in 2 worlds—a corrupt & evil universe where **ideas** ("spiritual forces") prevail & falsify all experience—& a universe of pure & uncorrupted fleshiness where all is feral, paleolithic & good. In both cases (despite their mirror-image opposition) these gnostics believe they inhabit the bad-world & that the good-world is virtually unobtainable in this life; that **gnosis** (knowledge) of goodness creates an elite, who are nevertheless doomed to suffer the evil of this world.

The Manichaeism reviles all worldly pleasure as distraction from the stasis of the spirit. For the "gnostic" post-situ, worldly pleasure is true & good, but impossible, since in every case it is polluted by the abstractions of commodification, spectacularization, etc., etc. The post-situ would deny that they possess a metaphysics, yet in practice (& even in theory to some extent) their writing often gives an impression of absoluteness & negativity, of cosmic gloom approaching—in style at least—the worst excesses of the Nag Hammadi Library.

Baudrillard is one example, John Zerzan another—both writers I've enjoyed & admired tremendously, but both as proponents of a **critique** rather than of a practice or "praxis."

Just as the Manichaeism cannot do without the concept of an eschatology (state of being after death) so too the post-situ cannot get rid of a future, an after-the-revolution state-of-grace. But to me, here-&-now, this "revolution" is no better than a religious eschatology, since I may be dead by the time it arrives. The original Situationists emphasized the here-&-now, & I think they

believed in the possibility of a bit of authentic everyday life **despite** the Spectacle, right here & right now; I think they experienced it, too—not as a permanent state of bliss, but as peak experiences which give value to life & to struggle. **Post-situationism** however seems to assume that the Spectacle has triumphed to such an extent that no authentic life-experience can exist; thereby they edge toward nihilism (a word used by both Baudrillard & Zerzan to describe themselves), which in itself can be considered a secularized form of Gnosticism (or so the great scholar Hans Jonas argued).

Situationism arose in part out of an attack on various forms of dualism—Cartesian, Kantian, etc.—& seems to me rooted in the concept of a **single** world common to (for instance) both Nietzsche and modern physics—(& curiously enough also to certain heterodox sufis). That is, there are not two separate realities but only one; it is neither "good" nor "bad" in itself; it can be experienced, since consciousness is an aspect of its reality; in its oneness it is also manifold & endlessly complex; even tho it is, it is also continually coming into being.

This kind of radical monism characteristically disdains all eschatology, whether religious ("heaven & hell"), Gnostic ("the return of the sparks to the Light") or materialist ("utopia," "workers paradise," whatever). If there were no possibility of authenticity here-&-now, there would be no possibility at any time. All omega points are fictions—or rather, they are dangerous lies, since they distract our attention toward what is non-existent. The paleolithic era is one such omega point, the coming revolution another. To see only emptiness or "disappearance" between these two temporal nodes (which in any case are largely fantasy-constructs) is to betray—in the name of Gnosis—the very possibility of **one's own life.** I'm not saying the post-situ have taken this step—only that their texts sometimes seem to allow no other interpretation.

The best gestures of "refusal" may be those which are harmonized by reciprocal gestures of accommodation, or readiness for "adventure." Refusal of School or Work is balanced by openness to unmediated relations, unpredictability, the "irruption of the marvelous" in the human world. The refusal of literacy might spark off perceptions unmediated by dead men's words. Refusal of family & conventional morality could lead to love or the pleasure of artistic creation or other experiences the post-situ seem to distrust so glumly.

And by what right do they sneer at such epiphanies as impure, fetishized or Spectacularized? Can it be that they themselves remain insensitive to non-ordinary states of consciousness & thus unaware of how accessible the authentic can be, how "easy," or even "ordinary"? Are they alarmed at the measures of stealth or even law-breaking sometimes necessary to enjoy the authentic unmolested by puritans & thought-police? Or have they truly become Gnostic Dualists in re-

verse, with all the morbidity & pessimism of the sect but none of its fire?

No, I don't think so. I don't believe the post-situ are falling into apocalypsis. I don't believe we're turning into our enemies. Right comrades? Right? Are we still capable of joy??

wa salaam,

Hakim Bey, New York, NY.

Kids drugged

½ million kids drugged—for Hyperactivity!

Shocking-reports dash-across the media suggesting that 600,000 children (**Rolling Stone**) are drugged with Ritalin to tranquilize them into control for "nice" student (sheep) behavior. Ritalin is another paradoxical drug that acts/effects adults as "speed/stimulant" yet reduces children's hyperactivity, so common in tense public school classrooms today. So the war on kids' aggression, teachers can't handle or understand, is given as medicine, like drugs in asylums to keep numb-control over patients.

What can be done about U.S. drugging over ½ million kids to make them obey school rules to sit-still, be-quiet & follow assignments for grades? Firstly, why are kids hyperactive, what causes the excess energy they have need to express in or out of school. Why does hyperactivity upset so many adults who willingly poison their children's body-minds to chemically mash them into neat & cool roles of social-conformity? How can the hyper-active energy be rechanneled or relaxed creatively, naturally & freely, or do we need another agency to "treat" misbehaving hi-riskers? What allergies cause hyperactivity? What teachers, schools & subjects have the highest rates of hyperactivity & why? What kinds of parenting also cause hyperactivity in children & what kind of activities prevent it????

Ritalin-drugged kids are only part of the crazy ways adults treat kids. I was hyperactive in the first grade, tied to a chair & mouth taped-shut to keep me quiet. But I compromised some & didn't take Ritalin, thank God. So I think the major school causes of hyperactivity are enforced desk-sitting, forbidden strong emotions, taboos of touching self & others, fears & indoorism (keeping kids indoors most of the time) & compulsory attendance laws. All limit students' choices, needs & feelings. It's no wonder they're more hyperactive & teen crime & violence is growing in many modern communities. Naturalizing schools is slower than just doing home-education that is legal in most states, so we can relax anytime as need naturally.

M.S., Portland, OR.

More on Against Sleep and Nightmare Miserable reply

Anarchy,

John Zerzan's reply to *Against Sleep and Nightmare* (in *Anarchy* #19) was miserable. It contains nothing but slander,

attributing views to A.S.A.N. nowhere defended or suggested in its/their letter. Once again, the shoddy anarchist technique (slavishly borrowed from the "experts" of the capitalist media and academia) of identifying Marxism with Stalinism/Trotskyism/Maoism. (We've heard it all a thousand times before: the Khmer Rouge/Stalin/Mao/etc. are Marxists, therefore Marxism is completely counter-revolutionary; argument is so easy when you've attained this level of clarity.)

So it's "industrial agriculture" which is responsible for mass starvation in Africa? Where do these insights come from? Of course, **capital** has nothing to do with it! Of course, the ruling classes and their states in Africa are free of all "responsibility." Imperialism? Don't be ridiculous!

Zerzan tells us that "the possibility of liberation lives at every moment: there is always a potential for happiness before us...." So liberation=happiness? Just what kind of liberation is he talking about? For revolutionaries today, the issue can only be **social** liberation, social revolution. Social liberation with respect to this society means primarily overthrowing the dominant social relations. Admittedly, capitalist and hierarchical social relations are realized in much of contemporary technology, and many Marxists have thus far neglected this aspect of the critique of capitalist society. (At the same time, the technophobes such as Zerzan and the **Fifth Estate** don't seem to understand that all the technology of the past 200 years is **capitalist** technology, and that the alternative is not either all of this technology or the refusal of all technology—or, return to "primitivist" technology—but this argument is for another occasion.)

Zerzan's ultra-individualism leads him to wag the great moralistic anarchist finger at A.S.A.N. for not providing us with the proper proper name. A new low in "argumentation"? Probably not, but the point is: who gives a fuck which name, if any, undersigns a contribution to discussion/debate? The point isn't: this is John's view, this is Lev's view—isn't John brilliant? We'd better hope that a significant section of this society can come to put certain revolutionary views into practice, whether or not this or that great theorist gave birth to them, or else we'll all be sunk, tied to this rotting system.

Morgan Feralchilde's response was certainly better than Zerzan's, but it still wasn't adequate. The ultimate defense of Zerzan's glorification of Luddism becomes: "...the Luddites are as, or even more, important than the 160 years of trade unionism following them." So what? Who's defending trade unionism as a revolutionary force? Certainly not Marxists (unless we go back once more to traditional anarchist equation of Marxism with Stalinism/Trotskyism/Maoism). Just how are we to judge the "importance" of the Luddites and of trade unionism? No one can deny that unions in the 19th century were an essential form of workers' self-defense, and permitted many gains in terms of working and living conditions

and the forging of class unity in struggle before those unions were incorporated into the state during World War One. What about the Luddites? Inspiration perhaps?

M.F. defends moralism as "the basis of any revolutionary consciousness," the feeling that "life in this society stinks and it is getting worse and you want to change it." No revolutionary movement or revolutionary consciousness has ever been based on any such moralism—M.F.'s claims are simply groundless idealism. Revolutionary consciousness, on the contrary, is based on the clear **necessity** for revolutionary social change, on the widespread conviction, based on common conditions and struggles, that this society has nothing to offer, that it is decaying, that it cannot survive as is, and that there is no alternative (other than massive self-destruction) but to overthrow it. Only such a **political** consciousness, and not a "wanting" based on a vague sense that things "stink", can explain the revolutionary upheavals throughout Europe and elsewhere between 1917 and 1923, in China in 1927, in Spain in 1936-7, in Hungary in 1956, and in Poland in 1980.

Concerning reforms and reformism, what M.F. fails to understand is that **permanent** reforms cannot be obtained from the presently existing system (except the ones the leftists are always trying to push us into struggling for—that is, the insignificant reforms), and that any temporary reforms granted are given only as a last resort to buy us off, that they come only at the expense of another section of the exploited or oppressed, and that they will be taken back later. What must be understood—and what most anarchists seem incapable of understanding—is that capital has no room to grant us anything more. As a result, all struggles for reform only give the illusion that reforms are possible, that capitalism has something positive to offer us, and so support the ideology of reformism, no matter how much one may profess to have revolution as one's "ultimate goal." Revolution as one's "ultimate goal" is always the watchword of "revolutionaries" turned reformists. The **immediate** goal of revolutionaries today can only be revolution. Struggles for reform only divert consciousness away from the necessity for the struggle for revolution today.

Once again, we get the same old anarchist stupidities concerning Marx. If anyone is a "Marxist", they obviously defend every single action Marx ever took, every statement he ever made. It may come as quite a shock to M.F. and J.Z. that such is not the case. Nevertheless, Marx supported struggles for reform more than a century ago because permanent reforms **could** then be obtained from an ascendent capitalism and struggling for them was not opposed to struggling for revolution once capitalism reached the stage of no longer permitting such reforms.

So Marx's interpretations "led to social democracy and Leninist state capitalism" (my emphasis)? Talk about reductionism and de-

Continued on next page

Miserable reply

Continued from page 35

terminism! Marx's interpretations did no such "leading." Marx's interpretations did not "lead to" the opportunism and nationalism of social democracy or the state capitalism and substitutionism of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The clearest Marxists of that time were Rosa Luxemburg and Anton Pannekoek, but Marx's interpretations didn't "lead to" their positions either; rather, the new social developments required new interpretations (the same is true today).

The undeniable idealism of anarchism comes out in M.F.'s assertion that the class war is being fought out in "each individual's mind." The material reality is that the class war is a collective struggle between two classes in the social arena and not between various ideas in each person's mind—and the anarchist's desperation about being powerless as an individual in the face of this struggle will continue to come to nothing.

For Autonomous Class Struggle,
J.H.,
P.O. Box 69804, Station K,
Vancouver, B.C., V5K 4Y7
Canada

**John Zerzan responds:
Distortions aside**

Because my brief comments tried to raise questions about Marxism itself, it is false to assert that I "identified Marxism with Stalinism." It is also false that I claimed capital had "nothing to do" with famine in Africa.

Total distortions aside, J.H. simply avoids all the fundamental questions re Marxism, especially its opportunist and bourgeois elevation of "progress"—including its unshakable embrace of **mass production and the subjection of the individual to it.**

I stand by my "miserable" and "slandorous" reply to Against Sleep And Midnight (and Morgan's more extensive one), referring anyone who might be interested in the original targets to my essays book, *Elements of Refusal*.

Berlin Wall for sale

Anarchy,

Your friendly neighborhood volunteer correspondent here to report that the East Germans are flocking through the wall to purchase VCRs and other fashions. Freed from the yoke of boring consumption they now flirt fullheartedly with exciting consumption. They flock through the wall empty-handed and return as walking advertisements for the West. Meanwhile at the wall itself Westerners cheer on the new recruits. Some people, true masters of free enterprise no doubt, have examples of their own for the D.D.R. folk: they sell pieces of the wall to adventurous suckers or they let people drive one of those silly little East-German cars for a small distance for a small price. Anyway, even if there is a pit the whole cherry isn't spoiled. Some people aren't fooled by the boring capitalist democratic cheerleading. But as I say, some

people. One of the most promising aspects of the whole event is this: if people keep hammering away on the wall maybe they'll start enjoying it and start hammering away at the rest of the city. Also: I stayed at a big squat where working on the buildings became just more ritualistic, sacrificial labour and guests were only allowed to stay one night. How revolutionary. Participate in the creation of ruins.

Love,
B.F., Köln, West Germany

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